

ENGLISH LOANWORDS **IN THE CHINESE LEXICON**

Aantal woorden: 30.900

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Foreword

My personal interest in language and linguistic exchanges formed the starting point for this thesis. It has always fascinated me how vocabulary flows from one language to another and how this process takes place. That is why I chose to investigate the presence of English loanwords in the contemporary Chinese lexicon as subject for my master thesis in Oriental Languages and Cultures at Ghent University. I tried to investigate the historical and social background of English loanwords, but the main focus is on the several borrowing methods that are used for the translation of English terms into Chinese. This thesis was written under the guidance of Professor Doctor Christoph Anderl, an expert on Chinese (Medieval) language. I want to thank Professor Anderl from the bottom of my heart for all his help and support. He is a wonderful and kind person who always gives feedback in the most positive way imaginable. Sometimes I was really struggling with writing this thesis and with myself. I could not have finished it without the support of my friends who kept believing in me. Thank you Sara, Lore, Tanita, Nele, Laura, Stan, and all the others. And of course my family: thank you Mam, Dad & Mem for making our home a warm place, a comfortable and stable surrounding. All my love for my sweet Inaya, the sunshine in my life, the one person who motivates me on a daily basis to work hard and become a better person. Even though this thesis has many shortcomings, I hope that whoever reads it finds it interesting, and maybe it will come to one's mind the next time he or she encounters an English loanword in Chinese. Thank you very much.

Ruth Vervaet

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Synopsis (Dutch)

Engelse leenwoorden in het Chinese lexicon

Deze masterthesis heeft als onderwerp Engelse leenwoorden in het Chinese lexicon. Een leenwoord is een term die – al dan niet na het ondergaan van aanpassingen – uit een andere taal werd overgenomen. Historisch belangrijke ankerpunten in China betreffende het ontlenen van vreemde woorden zijn de boeddhistische vertalingen, de christelijke missionering en de modernisering van Japan. Vandaag de dag zijn het vooral Engelse woorden die worden overgenomen in China. Dit kunnen we verklaren door de globalisering en het feit dat de Engelse taal zich aanbiedt als internationaal communicatiemiddel. Westerse cultuur en taal worden ook steeds populairder in China, vooral bij de jonge bevolking. Er zijn verschillende methodes om vreemde woorden te vertalen. We onderscheiden (1) fonetische leenwoorden, waarbij men de uitspraak van het bronwoord zo precies mogelijk kopieert, (2) semantische vertalingen, waarbij men het Engelse woord op een creatieve, typisch Chinese manier omschrijft, (3) combinaties van beide: dit kan een vorm zijn waarbij een semantisch en fonetisch deel naast elkaar worden gesteld, of een neologisme waarin de buitenlandse uitspraak en de pictografische natuur van Chinese karakters gecombineerd worden. Bijzondere aandacht wordt geschonken aan de vertaling van merknamen, eigennamen en plaatsnamen. We gaan ook kort in op de rol van Chinese dialecten, voornamelijk het Cantonees. De thesis sluit af met een hoofdstuk over de standaardisatie van vreemde woorden in het Chinese lexicon.

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Introduction

Languages are not static entities, on the contrary they are constantly subject to change. Cultural contact often leads to the exchange of linguistic features and words. This phenomenon is referred to as ‘borrowing’ and a word of foreign origin is called a ‘loanword’. We start this thesis with a general introduction to the topic of language contact and linguistic exchanges (*1. Theoretical framework & methodology*). In the second chapter, we explore historically important periods of borrowing in China (*2. History of loanwords*). This will help us to attain an idea of the existing theories and mechanisms concerning lexical borrowings in Mandarin Chinese. The main topic of this thesis is the presence of English loanwords in Modern Chinese (*3. English loanwords in the contemporary Chinese lexicon*). The English language is used as an international communication device, especially on scientific, technological, economic and internet-related subjects. Since China’s opening up in the late 1970s, English has also in the People’s Republic become more and more important. Recently, many English words get integrated in the Chinese lexicon. In 2005, the Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese (*Xiàndài Hànyǔ cídiǎn 现代汉语词典*) added 230 new words derived from English.¹ In this thesis, we try to answer the question why so many English words have been adopted in Chinese. What are the underlying reasons for this phenomenon? How can we understand this from an historic, social and cultural perspective?

Besides the question why English words are adopted, we investigate how the borrowing process takes place. A linguistic examination of the several techniques used for the translation of foreign words into Chinese serves as the main topic of this thesis. Since the differences between English and Chinese are considerable, modifications of the English words are required in the borrowing process. In general, we distinguish three possible options: retaining the pronunciation of the English word, translating according to its meaning, or a combination of both. We discuss the pros and contras of each method, and relate this choice to the social and cultural background. Special attention is paid to the translation of specific foreign words such as brand names, personal names and toponyms. We conducted a small research on the presence of English loanwords in contemporary Chinese newspapers and magazines. Do the findings confirm the proposed theoretical hypotheses? In the final chapters, we discuss the role of dialects concerning English words in China (*4. Influence of Cantonese and other dialects*), and the more practical issue of the standardisation of loanwords (*5. Standardisation of loanwords*).

¹ In total, the Dictionary included 362 new words in 2005, this means that 63,5 percent was derived from English. See Ni (2016: 125).

1. Theoretical framework & methodology

In this preliminary chapter, we introduce the topic of language contact and linguistic exchanges. We define the term ‘borrowing’ and try to answer the questions why and how languages adopt features from each other. This will provide us with a theoretical framework, which forms the foundation for the main chapters. Subsequently, we discuss the applied methodology, that is the scholarly theories and principles related to the topic, as well as a brief outline of the most important scholars – both Western and Chinese. We try to sketch the *status quaestionis* and the relevance of this thesis. A rather technical overview of important terminology closes this chapter.

1.1. Languages in contact

In 1921, the American linguist Edward Sapir wrote on the topic ‘how languages influence each other’ the following: “Languages, like cultures, are rarely sufficient unto themselves. The necessities of intercourse bring the speakers of one language into direct or indirect contact with those of neighbouring or culturally dominant languages”.² Linguists agree on the statement that in the world, there is no language to be found that was never, at some point in its history, influenced by another language. According to Lim & Ansaldo language contact “occurs frequently in bilingual and multilingual societies, in trading environments, through technological transfer as well as colonization and globalization”.³ When different cultures – and thus different languages – come into contact, it is plausible that exchanges or fusions will take place. In its most simple definition, contact between languages refers to “the use of more than one language, at the same time, at the same place”.⁴ Possible outcomes of language contact are the creation of a pidgin or creole, the emergence of code-switching, or the occurrence of borrowed features; this depends on the nature of the contact situation, its intensity, and on the dominance and prestige of one (or both) languages.⁵ When the intensity of the contact situation is rather low, the most

² Sapir (1921: 205).

³ Lim & Ansaldo (2016: 5).

⁴ Thomason (2001: 1).

⁵ “A pidgin is a mixed language that arises in situations where speakers of different languages are unable to understand each other’s native language and, therefore, need to develop a common means of communication. [...] Pidgins that develop into full-fledged native languages are called creoles.” See Bussmann (1998: 905-906). Code-switching is the switching between language varieties by bilingual or multilingual speakers. Example of a Spanish-English code-switch: “You didn’t have to worry que somebody te iba a tirar con cerveza o una botella or something like that.” (“You didn’t have to worry that somebody was going to throw beer or a bottle at you or something like that.”) See Poplack (1981: 170), cited in Milroy & Muysken (1995: 247). The difference between code-switching and borrowing has been discussed amply, but the distinction is not always completely clear. Code-switching is a phenomenon that occurs often in a bi- or multilingual context. Speakers switch between

likely outcome is borrowing, as Sapir states: “The simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the ‘borrowing’ of words”.⁶ This means that a language takes on certain features of another language. In linguistics, ‘borrowing’ is defined as “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another”.⁷ Several authors point out that this is a rather odd choice of words, as the linguistic phenomenon does not correspond with the meaning of the verb ‘to borrow’ in an everyday context.⁸ As Haugen argues: “The metaphor [i.e. borrowing] implied is certainly absurd, since the borrowing takes place without the lender’s consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan”.⁹ Nevertheless, this term is universally used in linguistic studies, and until today, there is no better alternative at hand.

As we came to a definition of borrowing, we now try to answer the questions *who* initiates the borrowing, *what* is borrowed from another language, *why* these foreign language features are adopted, and eventually *how* this process takes place.

1.1.1. Who initiates borrowings?

Haugen stated that “all borrowing by one language from another is predicated on some minimum of bilingual mastery of the two languages”.¹⁰ Borrowing does not require the interference of individuals with perfect bilingual or multilingual knowledge. People with a restricted understanding of the foreign language are as well capable of introducing and using foreign words in their speech. Furthermore, language contact and exchanges do not necessarily involve direct communication with the foreign language(’s speakers). Translations carried out thousands of kilometres away from the source language’s homeland, are equally a manifestation of language contact, and can thus induce borrowings.¹¹ In contemporary times, the modern technology makes it easy for people to come into contact with foreign

languages within the same speech, thus mixing elements of both languages. It is sometimes argued that every loan started as a code-switch, and gradually became part of the language. Once a foreign feature is seen as part of the indigenous language, and also used by monolingual speakers, it can be considered as a loanword. See Durkin (2014: 10), Haspelmath (2009: 40), Milroy & Muysken (1995: 74), Bussmann (1998: 194), Thomason (2001: 10).

⁶ Sapir (1921: 206).

⁷ Haugen (1950: 212).

⁸ The terms ‘borrowing’ and ‘loanword’ are used as metaphors. It is clear that nothing is ‘borrowed’ in its exact definition, since there is no mutual agreement made between the two parties, and nothing is to be returned to the original language. Some scholars have suggested an alternative term. For example, Hickey and Johanson plead to substitute ‘borrowing’ by ‘copying’: “Speakers of language A copy features found in language B into their own language”. Hickey (2010: 18), refers to Johanson (2002). Durkin (2014: 3) suggests the term ‘influence’ as an alternative. However, none of the alternatives are as much in use as the ‘borrowing’ metaphor.

⁹ Haugen (1950: 211).

¹⁰ Haugen (1950: 210).

¹¹ Thomason (2001: 1).

languages. Whenever one turns on the television or the radio, English, French, German and more language sounds are perceived. People search daily for information or amusement on the internet, where the dominant language is English.¹² Online dictionaries and teaching tools help people to master several languages. Notice that our preceding generations did not have the possibilities that we enjoy today, and that situations in which people are confronted with foreign languages definitely occur much more regular than before. Especially the English language manifests itself more and more as the international communication medium par excellence. The overall presence of English gives rise to the integration of borrowed English words in many of the world's languages. This phenomenon is in line with the statement that borrowing does not require perfect bilingualism, nor direct communication.¹³

1.1.2. What do languages borrow?

Combining descriptions of several authors, borrowing can be defined as ‘the incorporation of foreign linguistic features into another language as the result of contact’.¹⁴ These ‘features’ can take the shape of single words, idioms and expressions, syntactic features, etc.¹⁵ The borrowing of grammatical structures is referred to as ‘structural borrowing’, whereas the adoption of words is called ‘lexical borrowing’. Linguists perceive that lexical borrowings occur much more often than structural borrowings. As Hickey states: “[...] typically individual words or phrases, pragmatic markers, sentence adverbials, or other free-floating elements which are not part of the grammatical structure of a language [are borrowed easily]. Such elements travel well because they do not require integration into the system of the borrowing language”.¹⁶ As lexical items are high content words and not bound to certain linguistic structures, vocabulary is borrowed with more ease than syntax and morphology.¹⁷ Structural borrowings mostly occur in highly intense contact situations.¹⁸

In Chinese, there are almost no grammatical modifications as a result of influence from European languages to be found.¹⁹ Therefore, from now on, we will only consider lexical borrowings, that is the

¹² Lim & Ansaldo (2016: 5, 163).

¹³ Thomason (2001: 1-2).

¹⁴ “Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign elements into the speaker’s native language”, see Lim & Ansaldo (2016: 6). “Borrowing is the transfer of features of any kind from one language to another as the result of contact”, see Aikhenvald (2002) and Trask (2000: 44), both cited in Winford (2010: 170). “Borrowing is a process in which one language replicates a linguistic feature from another language, either wholly or partly”, see Durkin (2014: 3).

¹⁵ Thomason (2001: 63).

¹⁶ Hickey (2010: 11), refers to Muysken (2000).

¹⁷ Jian (2005: 425).

¹⁸ Thomason (2001: 69-70).

¹⁹ Ramsey mentions the distinction between 他, 她 and 它 (*tā*) as an example of grammatical change, developed as a result of Western influence. The three forms ‘he’, ‘she’, and ‘it’ are pronounced exactly the same in Modern Chinese. In Classical

transfer of words and phrases.²⁰ Durkin wrote the following on this phenomenon: “Lexical borrowing occurs when the lexis of the donor language exercises an influence on the lexis of the borrowing language, with the result that the borrowing language acquires a new word form or word meaning, or both, from the donor language”.²¹ A lexical borrowing does not necessarily involve an (exact) copy of the source word’s form and pronunciation; an alteration of semantic meaning under foreign influence is equally a type of lexical borrowing – which we will later define as semantic borrowing.²² Furthermore, all lexical items can be borrowed, but not all word classes are the subject of borrowing as often as others. Scholars perceive that in contact situations between languages all over the world, the most frequently borrowed lexical items concern nouns.²³ A plausible explanation for this phenomenon is that nouns are high-content words. In many cases, borrowed nouns refer to culturally specific objects or concepts. Cultural contact leads to encounters with things and ideas which were hitherto unknown to the other culture.²⁴ People are confronted with the need to name these new items, as Weinreich states there is “the need to designate new things”.²⁵ This is less the case for verbs, pronouns, classifiers, etc., which are, in many cases, not culturally specific and do not require new name-giving.²⁶

1.1.3. Why do languages borrow from other languages?

Linguists believe that every language in the world incorporates features that are borrowed from other languages.²⁷ For example, English is a language that contains much borrowed material – mostly from

Chinese, 他 was the only form available. The gender distinction was made in the beginning of the 20th century, in an attempt to appear more ‘Western’. See Ramsey (1989: 50-51). Furthermore, the increased use of the Chinese passive construction was probably also influenced by Western languages. Whereas the passive construction was traditionally rarely used (and mostly in adversative sentences), it is now used more and more (also for neutral statements), especially in written sources. See Kubler (2016: 307).

²⁰ T’sou (2001: 35).

²¹ Durkin (2014: 8).

²² In many cases, it is difficult to see whether an expansion of word meaning is due to foreign influence, or solely due to developments of the native language, as Jones states: “It is sometimes impossible to decide whether foreign influence is responsible, or whether the semantic extension is due solely to spontaneous and autonomous development within the native language”. See Jones (1976: 24).

²³ Some scholars propose an ‘hierarchy’ of categories from frequently to rarely borrowed: nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > coordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions. Based on Haugen (1950), cited by Muysken (1998: 231).

²⁴ Jian (2005: 425).

²⁵ Weinreich (1953: 56), referred to by Winford (2010: 177).

²⁶ Muysken also mentions that pronoun systems are tightly organized, and therefore difficult to borrow: “The pronoun system is tightly organized, and it is difficult to imagine English borrowing a new pronoun to create a second person dual in addition to second person singular and plural”. See Muysken (1998: 232).

²⁷ Sapir (1921: 205).

Latin and French.²⁸ Weinreich concisely describes the main reason for lexical borrowing: “The need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts is a compelling reason to borrow lexical items”.²⁹ Durkin states that most borrowed words are directly related to newly encountered objects and concepts.³⁰ For example hitherto unknown culturally specific items or concepts, and new scientific and technological inventions. However, the question arises why a language would adopt foreign terms, as every language contains its own innovative mechanisms to coin neologisms? Research refers to social and attitudinal factors involved. Winford mentions social interaction, bilingualism, demography, power relationships and attitudes towards the other language as important determinants for linguistic exchange.³¹ Firstly, as regards social interaction, it is perceived that the more intense the contact relationship is, the more likely that lexical items will be conveyed. This explains why words and expressions are transferred regularly in a bi- or multilingual context, in which multiple languages are used alternately.³² As mentioned before, our modern globalized society offers great possibilities for people and cultures to come into contact with each other. We believe that the internet definitely matches the description of a ‘multilingual context’, and thus opens the door to language exchange.

Another important determinative factor in borrowing are the attitudes towards a certain language. When the common people consider a foreign culture and language as prestigious and admirable, speakers might happily embrace foreign words and phrases and integrate them into their own vocabulary. For example, the English expressions “Oh my God!” and “cool” can be heard in many non-English-speaking countries. This has nothing to do with the ‘need to designate new things’, but the usage of these and other phrases can be explained by the worldwide spread of the English language through the media, entertainment and online, and indeed the ‘cool’ reputation of English, especially among youngsters. On the other hand, there may occur language purism, that is “the cultural resistance to loanwords”.³³ A purist mentality is mostly present in a society where the feeling prevails that the mother tongue is an essential part of the people’s ethnic identity, culture, history, etc. In that case, people will try to protect their native language from any kind of “foreign incursion”, in an attempt to preserve the purity of their language and

²⁸ More than 13.000 words only from Latin, more than 6000 words only from French. Research shows that loanwords make up 41 percent of the English lexicon. See Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009: 25, 56), Durkin (2014: 6).

²⁹ Weinreich (1953: 56), referred to by Winford (2010: 177).

³⁰ “[...] for nearly all of these languages, certain semantic categories tend to predominate: terms for food and drinks, names of flora and fauna, names of imported goods of various sorts, and words relating to aspects of local material and social culture.” See Durkin (2014: 398).

³¹ Winford (2010: 177).

³² Haspelmath (2009: 35, 48).

³³ Haspelmath (2009: 47).

ethnicity.³⁴ Speakers will often try to avoid the use of foreign words (and phonetic loans), and make great efforts to bring up alternative (semantic) translations for these terms.³⁵

Concluding, the prevailing reason for lexical borrowing is to name cultural-related objects and concepts. The chance that exchanges will take place increases in intense contact situations and with positive attitudes towards the foreign language. Regarding English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon, we observe that many loans can indeed be categorized as ‘culturally related terms’. Furthermore, the increasing appearance of English words can be understood as a result of the growing popularity of the English language in China. Despite the suggested hypotheses and conducted research on the topic, it is impossible to foresee which features will be borrowed and which will not. Language change is always unpredictable, as it depends on choices made by the language’s speakers, who are themselves unpredictable.³⁶ As Thomason states: “The combination of social and linguistic factors that favour the success of one innovation and the failure of another are so complex that we can never (in my opinion) hope to achieve deterministic predictions in this area. [...] There is an element of chance in many or most changes; and there is an element of more or less conscious choice in many changes”.³⁷

1.1.4. How does the borrowing process take place?

The borrowing process varies according to the languages involved, and to what extent they differ from each other. Linguists perceive that exchanges take place more readily between two similar languages.³⁸ When the phonemic inventories of the two vernaculars involved differ significantly, phonetic modifications are requisite in order to fit into the borrowing language. Sapir writes on phonetic modification: “The borrowing of foreign words always entails their phonetic modification. There are sure to be foreign sounds or accentual peculiarities that do not fit the native phonetic habits. They are then so changed as to do as little violence as possible to these habits. Frequently we have phonetic compromises”.³⁹ Concerning English and Chinese, it is without any doubt that these two languages differ in many ways. Certain adaptations will indeed be required, for example phonological adaptations, and

³⁴ Winford (2010: 178).

³⁵ For example the French language often shows resistance to the adoption of English words in their original form. For example, ‘database’ is translated as ‘la base de données’, ‘brainstorming’ as ‘remue-méninges’. See Walsh (2016: 66-67). This differs from Dutch, in which the English terms ‘database’ and ‘brainstorm’ are used with no alternatives available.

³⁶ Thomason (2001: 85).

³⁷ Thomason (2010: 33).

³⁸ ‘Similarity’ here refers to the same writing system, belonging to the same language family, etc. See Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: 2).

³⁹ Sapir (1921: 210).

also the transformation of an alphabetic to a logographic writing system. In the main chapter, we will discuss the borrowing process and potential entailed problems profoundly.

Once the foreign word has entered the lexicon, the borrowing can take the shape of an ‘importation’ or a ‘substitution’ in the receiving language. An importation means that there was hitherto no such form at hand in the borrowing language, and thus a new term is introduced. Substitution refers to the fact that an indigenous term is replaced by a borrowed one.⁴⁰ Haspelmath additionally mentions a category of ‘coexistence’, this indicates that a loanword and a native term with the same meaning co-occur.⁴¹ Following the linguistic principle of economy, one term might disappear in time.⁴²

⁴⁰ T’sou adds that an importation can evolve into a substitution: “The diffusional process would begin with importation and could then be followed by substitution. For example, new items in the area of food and cuisine could be first added to the recipient culture, along with the designations for them (importation), and subsequently some or many of these items may replace indigenous items (substitution), thus altering the fabric of the recipient culture in important ways.” See T’sou (2001: 37-38).

⁴¹ Haspelmath (2009: 49).

⁴² “The principle of economy may be simply defined as one meaning encoded by only one form. Encoding via more than one form is avoided as well as unnecessary marking of distinctions. Violations of economy increase synonymy and redundancy.” See Sinnemäki (2008: 71).

1.2. Methodology

1.2.1. Theoretical framework

This master thesis can be labelled as a linguistic study. Linguistics is defined as: “A scientific discipline with the goal of describing language and speech in all relevant theoretical and practical aspects and their relation to adjoining disciplines”.⁴³ It concerns a very broad scientific discipline, including many subdisciplines. Both theoretical and applied linguistics are taken into account in this dissertation. Concerning the more theoretical perspective, there are two major parts. Firstly, we try to explore the historical background and the social motivations with regard to lexical borrowing. On the one hand, this touches upon the scholarly discipline of historical linguistics, which focuses on the historical development of languages, and the implementation of diachronic studies with attention to language change. On the other hand, it is related to sociolinguistics. The main subject of sociolinguistics is the relationship between language and its social environment, and thus the relation between language use and culture.⁴⁴ Secondly, we consider a more technical linguistic study in order to distinguish several methods that are used for the integration and adaptation of foreign words. This entails the use of more structural linguistic topics, such as the examination of phonology, morphology, word formation, etc.

Language contact and exchange can be approached from a theoretical point of view, but parts of the conducted study are closely related to applied linguistics. That is “the branch of linguistics concerned with practical applications of language studies, for example language teaching, translation, and speech therapy”.⁴⁵ Applied linguistics concerns the more practical use of language – vis-a-vis the theoretical sub-disciplines mentioned above. When we investigate the topic of borrowings between languages, we cannot avoid mentioning how translations are carried out, how the government enforces language planning, the performance of language institutions, etc.

1.2.2. Influential works

During the twentieth century, the topic of language contact has been studied extensively by Western scholars. The American linguist and anthropologist Edward Sapir is regarded as a pioneer on the study of language and culture. In 1921, he published a survey of the world’s languages: ‘Language: an

⁴³ Bussmann (1998: 693).

⁴⁴ Hudson (1996: 1-2).

⁴⁵ Oxford Learner’s Dictionary.

Introduction to the Study of Speech'.⁴⁶ Especially the ninth chapter 'How languages influence each other', is particularly interesting, as it contains some of the earliest insights on borrowing. Another often cited linguist is the American Einar Haugen. He produced the article 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing', in which he introduced a typology of loanwords.⁴⁷ Since the year 2000, several inspiring works on language contact have been published. Sarah Thomason's 'Language Contact: an Introduction' contains important basic insights in the topic of language contact.⁴⁸ In her manuscript, she touches on many forms of language contact and inserts many examples and case studies. Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor published their compilation work 'Loanwords in the World's Languages' in 2009.⁴⁹ The first chapters describe a theoretical framework and essential terminology. 'Chapter twenty-two: Loanwords in Mandarin Chinese' is written by Thekla Wiebusch and Uri Tadmor.⁵⁰ It provides many interesting insights concerning the topic of (English) loans in Chinese, but remains quite superficial and insufficient regarding a more specialized investigation of the topic. Another compilation work to mention is 'The Handbook of Language Contact', published in 2010 under the direction of Raymond Hickey.⁵¹ It contains introductory chapters on language contact, written by prominent linguistic scholars such as Sarah Thomason, Yaron Matras, and Donald Winford. The rest of the handbook are separate chapters on language-specific loans, each written by an expert.

Considering important works on the Chinese language from a Western perspective, a classic to mention is Jerry Norman's 'Chinese', on the historical development of the Chinese language and contemporary Chinese dialects.⁵² Furthermore, we consulted 'The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Linguistics' to attain more insights in the particularities of the Chinese language, for example its morphology and phonology.⁵³ However, few Western scholars focused on the topic of (contemporary) English loanwords in Chinese. Novotna published several articles on Chinese phonology – unfortunately we were unable to consult them.⁵⁴ The Italian linguist Federico Masini wrote a prominent work on the integration of loanwords in

⁴⁶ Sapir (1921).

⁴⁷ Haugen (1950).

⁴⁸ Thomason (2001).

⁴⁹ Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009). Haspelmath and Tadmor also present their project "World Loanword Database", an online database with borrowed material from 41 recipient languages. Despite the promising design, the database only contains one hundred thirty-three loanwords in Mandarin Chinese, of which only six entries are labeled as derived from English. See <http://wold.clld.org>.

⁵⁰ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009).

⁵¹ Hickey (2010).

⁵² Norman (1988).

⁵³ Wang & Sun (2015).

⁵⁴ See Novotna (1967).

Chinese in the 19th century.⁵⁵ Masini also contributed to ‘Linguistic Exchanges between Europe, China and Japan: International Conference’, a compilation edited by Federica Casalin.⁵⁶ These works provide information on the early integration of European loanwords. However, in order to find sources on contemporary English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon, we had to turn to Chinese scholars.

Pioneers Gao Mingkai 高名凯 and Liu Zhengtan 刘正琰 brought the first systematic contribution to the topic of loanwords in the 1950s. Their *Xiàndài Hànyǔ wàiláicí yánjiū* 现代汉语外来词研究 (“Study of Loanwords in Modern Chinese”) contained the first typology of borrowing, by focusing on the formal relation between the original and the borrowed word.⁵⁷ Gao & Liu only considered graphic and phonetic loans as ‘real’ loanwords – semantic loans were seen as Chinese neologisms and therefore not included in their study.⁵⁸ In 1984, Gao and Liu, with the cooperation of Mai Yonggan 麦永乾 and Shi Youwei 史有为, published the first Dictionary of Loanwords (*Hànyǔ wàiláicí cídiǎn* 汉语外来词词典), which – in line with their previous publications – contained solely graphic and phonetic loans, and disregarded semantic loans.⁵⁹

More recently, in 1999, Ping Chen published ‘Modern Chinese’, in which he relates language change in China to the cultural and social context.⁶⁰ Ping Chen’s work has been lauded by Westerners for its clearness and comprehensibility for both students and professionals. Shi Youwei’s 史有为 work *Hànyǔ wàiláicí* 汉语外来词 (“Loanwords in Chinese”) is cited by many Chinese linguists.⁶¹ It provides a general overview of loanwords in Chinese, both phonetic and semantic. Regrettably, we were not able to consult this work, but we tried to fill the gap by studying the work of Yang Xipeng 杨锡彭.⁶² Yang brings a structured and exhaustive overview of loanwords in Chinese – and often refers to Shi Youwei’s work. The last scholars to mention are on more specific topics: Firstly Yip Po-Ching, who provided refreshing insights on the topic of semantic borrowings and free translations.⁶³ Secondly, Miao Ruiqin’s dissertation ‘Loanword Adaptation in Mandarin Chinese: Perceptual, Phonological and Sociolinguistic

⁵⁵ Masini (1993).

⁵⁶ Casalin (2008).

⁵⁷ Their typology of borrowing included *yīnyìcí* 音译词, *yìyìcí* 意译词, *fānyìcí* 翻译词 (transposition of pattern) and hybrids. See Gao & Liu (1958), referred to by Alleton (2001: 17).

⁵⁸ Zhao (2006: 7).

⁵⁹ Liu et al. (1984).

⁶⁰ Ping (1999).

⁶¹ Shi (2000).

⁶² Yang (2007).

⁶³ Yip (2000).

Factors', one of the very few sources on loanword phonology.⁶⁴ And finally Chan & Kwok, who remain until now the most prominent authors on the topic of English words in Cantonese.⁶⁵

1.2.3. *Status Quaestionis*

We tend to see that nowadays, English in China is a hot topic both among linguists and policy-makers. Much attention is paid to the increasing amount of English letters and zero translations in China (see 3.2.4. *Zero translation*). However, zero translations are a very specific kind of borrowings, and solely focusing on this phenomenon, loses sight of other more subtle types of loanwords. More investigation on the topic of English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon is desirable, and this on at least three levels:

(1) In recent years, there do not seem to be many Western scholars who focus on the integration of English words in Chinese. It could be interesting to modify the Chinese theories from a Western perspective, and to combine the Chinese point of view with that of native English-speakers.

(2) Several scholars, for example Gao & Liu, did not include semantic loans in their study. More recently, there seems to be a growing attention to semantic translations among Chinese scholars, but still, they merely discuss loan translations. More research on meaning shifts and free translations is required.

(3) The topic of phonological adaptations contains several “black holes”. For example, there is very little known about the conversion of stress (from English), and the allocation of tones (in Chinese). There is a great need for further examination, and this both from a Western and Chinese point of view.

1.2.4. *Relevance of the thesis*

We believe that research on English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon is interesting for various reasons. On a historical-sociological level, the presence of loanwords indicates an interaction between cultures. Features borrowed from one language to another provide information on the intensity and direction of the exerted influence. As Sapir stated: “One can almost estimate the role which various people have played in the development and spread of cultural ideas by taking note of the extent to which their vocabularies have filtered into those of other peoples”.⁶⁶ For example the borrowing of words concerning politics, technology, business, etc., from a foreign language indicates that this alien culture exerted a major influence concerning these fields. On a linguistic level, a study on loanwords is not just interesting

⁶⁴ Miao (2005).

⁶⁵ Chan & Kwok (1990).

⁶⁶ Sapir (1921: 206).

in itself, but also provides additional information on the peculiarities of both the source and the receiving language, and can help to improve the quality of translations.⁶⁷

In this master thesis, we investigate English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon, with attention to the social and historical context, as well as to linguistic features. Many Chinese authors have brought forth a typology of borrowing methods, but often these typologies do not contain all categories and sub-dimensions. Furthermore, findings of different scholars often contest each other. In this thesis, we attempt to merge these varying insights into one cohesive body. We also believe that it is useful to examine Chinese sources from a Western point of view. Western linguists have paid much attention to the theoretical framework, but the study of English borrowings in Chinese is scarce; whereas Chinese scholars start from their own findings and experience, but often neglect the more technical theoretical background. We try to combine the best of both worlds in this thesis. Notwithstanding the result is far from perfect, we hope that it can bring a new perspective on English loanwords in China, which is both synthesizing and refreshing, and focuses on language as well as social context.

⁶⁷ Zhao (2006: 1-2).

1.3. Terminology

The purpose of this section is to define some important linguistic terms. In order to do this consistently, the Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics was used.⁶⁸

1.3.1. Defining a ‘loanword’

According to Haspelmath, a ‘loanword’ or ‘lexical borrowing’ is “a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing”.⁶⁹ The Oxford Learner’s Dictionary defines a ‘loanword’ as: “A word adopted from a foreign language with little or no modification”.⁷⁰ A typology of loanwords is created based on the retention or loss of certain original features. Main categories of loanwords in the Chinese lexicon concern:

- (1) Phonetic loans. Both the original meaning and (an approximating) pronunciation are retained.
- (2) Semantic loans. A semantic loan is a “borrowing of meaning, but not (directly) of word form”.⁷¹ A semantic loan can concern a single word, this means that an existing word acquires a new meaning under the influence of a foreign word.⁷² However, the most well-known semantic loans consider new compounds (a loan translations or calque). That is “a lexical unit created by an item-by-item translation of the (complex) source unit”⁷³, while “the structure of the source word is retained”.⁷⁴
- (3) Combined loans. Defined by Haspelmath as: “Borrowings which consist of partly borrowed material and partly native material”.⁷⁵
- (4) Graphic loans. The graphic form of a foreign word is directly adopted in Chinese.⁷⁶ It concerns words that were borrowed from Japanese. Japanese *kanji* can easily be borrowed into Chinese without graphic adaptations, it suffices to use their Chinese pronunciation.⁷⁷ Even though graphic loans from Japanese make up a large part of the Chinese lexicon, they will not be discussed in this dissertation.

⁶⁸ Bussmann (1998).

⁶⁹ Haspelmath (2009: 36).

⁷⁰ Oxford Learner’s Dictionary.

⁷¹ Durkin (2014: 8).

⁷² Durkin (2014: 9).

⁷³ Haspelmath (2009: 39).

⁷⁴ Durkin (2014: 9).

⁷⁵ Haspelmath (2009: 39).

⁷⁶ Miao (2016: 568).

⁷⁷ Zhou & Jiang (2004: 50).

Linguists disagree on which of the mentioned categories should be considered as ‘real’ loanwords. Some scholars argue that semantic translations are not loanwords, as they consist of indigenous morphemes which simply obtain new meanings. This meaning shift is not considered as a form of borrowing.⁷⁸ In this thesis, any word or word meaning that came into existence under foreign influence, will be considered as a loanword. This point of view corresponds with most modern Chinese typologies. For example Miao states that a loanword “is used in a broad sense to include all types of borrowings, including phonemic loans, semantic loans, graphic loans and hybrid loans”.⁷⁹ An exhaustive analysis of the various forms follows in the main chapter.

1.3.2. Linguistic terms

Alphabetic writing system	“System of writing based on phonetic and phonological criteria, i.e. a system in which graphic signs represent individual sounds or sound segments”. ⁸⁰
Borrowing language	The language that borrows lexical features from another language. Also ‘recipient language’ or ‘receiving language’. ⁸¹
Coda	“Final segment of a syllable between the nucleus and the head of the following syllable, e.g. [t] in bitter, [d] in head”. ⁸²
Donor language	The original language from which a loan was derived. ⁸³ Also referred to as ‘source language’.
Globalization	“The process by which regional economies, societies and cultures have become integrated through a global network of political ideas through communication, transportation and trade”. ⁸⁴
Homophone	“A type of lexical ambiguity in which two or more expressions have an identical pronunciation but different spellings and meanings”. ⁸⁵

⁷⁸ E.g. Gao & Liu (1958), Haugen (1950: 210-231), referred to by Winford (2010: 177).

⁷⁹ Miao (2016: 563).

⁸⁰ Bussmann (1998: 46).

⁸¹ Hickey (2010: 14).

⁸² Bussmann (1998: 193).

⁸³ Durkin (2014: 8), Haspelmath (2009: 37).

⁸⁴ Lim & Ansaldo (2016: 17).

⁸⁵ Bussmann (1998: 520).

Isolating language	“A language that does not use morphological means (i.e. inflection) to express syntactic relations, but rather independent grammatical units (particles, words) and/or word order”. ⁸⁶
Loanword adaptation	The process of modifying certain phonological, orthographic and morphological structures of the source word, in order to fit into the borrowing language. ⁸⁷ Also referred to as ‘loanword integration’. ⁸⁸
Logographic writing system	“Writing system in which the meaning of individual linguistic expressions (individual words) is expressed by graphic signs (logogram)”. ⁸⁹
Mandarin Chinese	“The standard Chinese variety in Mainland China”. ⁹⁰ Also <i>Pǔtōnghuà</i> 普通话.
Morpheme	“The smallest meaningful element of language that, as a basic phonological and semantic element, cannot be reduced into smaller elements”. ⁹¹
Phoneme	“The smallest sound unit that can be segmented from the acoustic flow of speech and which can function as a semantically distinctive unit”. ⁹²
Phonemic inventory	“The set of phonemes of a given language as determined by a phonological analysis of that language”. ⁹³
Radical	“The smallest meaningful orthographic units that play semantic or phonetic roles in compound characters”. ⁹⁴
Source language	The original language from which a loan was derived. ⁹⁵ Also: ‘donor language’. ⁹⁶
Recipient language	The language that borrows lexical features from another language. ⁹⁷ Also referred to as ‘borrowing language’.

⁸⁶ Bussmann (1998: 599).

⁸⁷ Haspelmath (2009: 42).

⁸⁸ Winford (2010: 173).

⁸⁹ Bussmann (1998: 707).

⁹⁰ Miao (2016: 563).

⁹¹ Bussmann (1998: 767).

⁹² Bussmann (1998: 889).

⁹³ Bussmann (1998: 891).

⁹⁴ Shen & Ke (2007: 99).

⁹⁵ Winford (2010: 171), Durkin (2014: 8).

⁹⁶ Durkin (2014: 8).

⁹⁷ Winford (2010: 171), Haspelmath (2009: 37), Durkin (2014: 8).

2. History of loanwords

This chapter contains a brief historical overview of the most important periods in which the Chinese lexicon was strongly influenced by other languages. This will allow us to obtain a general idea of translation and borrowing mechanisms in China. The first noteworthy period stretches from the Late Han until the Tang Dynasty. It was then that Buddhism entered Mainland China and the translation of the sutras took place. However, this thesis's main focus will not be the influence that Sanskrit had on Chinese, but rather the relation between Chinese and European languages.⁹⁸ The sixteenth century designates the first period of intense contact between the West and the Far East, in the context of trade and catholic missions.⁹⁹ It was then that European languages started leaving traces in the Chinese lexicon. Remarkably, the European missionaries made use of the same translation mechanisms as the sutra-translators did. In the course of the nineteenth century, the West augmented their presence in China behind the background of global colonization. This coincided with the inflow of Western products and conceptual schemes. It is important to mention that, at this time, Japan played a remarkable intermediary role between the West and China. The era of early communism marked a rather isolationist period, with little Western influence. Nevertheless, China reopened itself for the world in the 1980s, which also meant a renewed entry of English loanwords to the Chinese lexicon.

⁹⁸ The main topic of this dissertation is 'English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon', but in this preliminary chapter, we will consider the European languages as one group. This includes English, French, Italian and Latin, which was particularly important for the catholic missionaries. This choice is justified since the focus of this chapter is to attain a general overview of the most important periods of borrowing. Furthermore, the European languages are considerably intermingled - for instance, as mentioned before, the English lexicon contains many loanwords from Latin and French.

⁹⁹ There had been encounters before the sixteenth century, like the many explorations of Westerners to China. Nevertheless, these first encounters did not yet lead to modifications of the Chinese lexicon and are not discussed here.

2.1. The first large-scale translation projects: the Buddhist sutras

Buddhism entered China in the first century CE.¹⁰⁰ This new religion rapidly gained popularity, and the ‘sacred’ Buddhist texts, the sutras, were translated from Sanskrit and other Indic languages into Chinese.¹⁰¹ Cao and Yu state that, between the Late Han and Tang Dynasties, around 2300 sutras were translated, containing circa 56 million characters.¹⁰² However, the sutra translators encountered several difficulties: At that time, Buddhism contained many conceptual schemes and terms that were unknown in China. The translators were obliged to search methods to convey these specific cultural, religious terms into Chinese.¹⁰³ This quest gave rise to two factions. The first group argued that a translation should remain as close as possible to the original. This is known as a ‘simple’ or ‘direct’ translation strategy. Xuanzang supported this side and claimed that there were five categories for which it was nearly impossible to find an adequate translation (*wǔbùfān* 五不翻).¹⁰⁴ He therefore suggested that certain terms should not be translated at all, and simply be transliterated.¹⁰⁵ The other faction rightly pointed out that these kind of literal translations were opaque to the extent that they became unintelligible for the Chinese audience. This second group favoured a more fluent translation strategy, also referred to as ‘sophisticated’ translation.¹⁰⁶ The renowned sutra translator Kumārajīva backed this approach.¹⁰⁷

How do these two translation strategies relate to different borrowing methods? Buddhist terms which did not have a Chinese equivalent, should be represented by some type of loanword. The large-scale sutra translations thus caused the introduction of a multitude of loanwords into Chinese. Shi Xiandong refers to this period as the “golden age of foreign loanwords”.¹⁰⁸ A first borrowing method involved the introduction of new words which related closely to the original in terms of both meaning and phonetics. It is clear that this method is strongly associated with the ‘direct translation’ strategy. These transliterations contained a high level of exoticism, but could also be very difficult to understand for the readers, who had very limited knowledge of foreign languages. A second method, favoured by many

¹⁰⁰ Dessein & Heirman (2011: 23-26).

¹⁰¹ Besides Sanskrit, there were also sutras written in Pali, Gandhari or other South-Asian languages. See Heirman & Anderl (2015: 3).

¹⁰² Cao & Yu (2015: 204).

¹⁰³ Yu & Gu (2013: 2).

¹⁰⁴ Xuanzang (ca. 596-664). The *wǔbùfān* include magic, polysemy, foreign names, long-employed transliterations, and complex conceptions. See Heirman & Anderl (2015: 5).

¹⁰⁵ Guang (2012: 224).

¹⁰⁶ Dong (1951), in Chan (2004: 225).

¹⁰⁷ Kumārajīva (4th-5th century CE). See Chu (2000: 43-53), Heirman & Anderl (2015: 5).

¹⁰⁸ Shi (2015: 236).

sutra translators, was semantic borrowing.¹⁰⁹ This involved using a classical Chinese term with a similar meaning, for example derived from the Confucian classics. The indigenous Chinese phrase underwent some semantic modification and adopted an extended Buddhist meaning as a single word or in a new compound.¹¹⁰ This approach is clearly related to the ‘sophisticated translation’ strategy. The biggest advantage was that the term was already well-known in China, and therefore easily recognized and adopted.¹¹¹ However, it is far from certain if these modified meanings were fully grasped by the Chinese, rather they kept in mind the original – e.g. Confucian – connotation of the term.¹¹² A third option was a combination of transliteration and semantic translation.¹¹³ These various borrowing strategies (phonetic – semantic – combination) are still used until the present day. They will be discussed more profoundly in the following chapters. It is fascinating how the Buddhist translators in fact laid the foundations for the translation and conversion of specific cultural terms into Chinese. The following tables list some examples of loans which entered the Chinese lexicon through Buddhist translations.

Phonetically translated Sanskrit words in Chinese (transliterations)

Chinese characters	Modern Chinese pronunciation	Middle Chinese pronunciation ¹¹⁴	Sanskrit	English
佛	fó	but	Buddha	Buddha
菩薩	púsà	pəsat	bodhisattva	bodhisattva
僧	sēng	səŋ	saṃgha	monk
涅槃 ¹¹⁵	nièpán	nətban	nirvāna	nirvana
刹那 ¹¹⁶	chànà	tʂ ^h aɪtna' / tʂ ^h ɛitna'	kṣaṇa	instant, moment

Semantically translated Sanskrit words in Chinese

Chinese characters	Modern Chinese pronunciation	Sanskrit	English
世界	shìjiè	loka(-dhātu)	world
众生	zhòngshēng	sattva	living beings, masses

¹⁰⁹ Yu & Gu (2013: 2-4).

¹¹⁰ An example is the word *sè* 色, whose original meaning was ‘colour’. This was extended to ‘the form of things’ in a Buddhist context. See Cao & Yu (2015: 204).

¹¹¹ Yu & Gu (2013: 2-4).

¹¹² Shi (2015: 237).

¹¹³ Guang (2012: 225).

¹¹⁴ For Middle Chinese pronunciations, see Pulleyblank (1991).

¹¹⁵ Examples from Shi (2015: 236-237).

¹¹⁶ Sun (2007).

地狱	dìyù	naraka	hell
轮回 ¹¹⁷	lúnhuí	saṃsāra	reincarnation
现在	xiànzài		present
过去 ¹¹⁸	guòqù		past
镜像	jìngxiàng		mirror reflection
忍受	rěnrshòu		endure, bear
实在	shízài		true, honest
听众 ¹¹⁹	tīngzhòng		audience

Combinations of transliteration and semantic translation

Chinese characters	Modern Chinese pronunciation	Middle Chinese pronunciation	English	Phonetic part (Sanskrit)	Semantic part (Chinese)
佛曲	fóqū	but-khuawk	Buddhist song	佛 buddha	曲 song
佛像	fóxiàng	but-ziaŋ	Buddha image	佛 buddha	像 image
禪師	chánshī	zhian-ʃi	meditation master	禪 dhāna	師 master
涅槃宗 ¹²⁰	nièpánzōng	net-ban-tsaŋ	nirvana school	涅槃 nirvāṇa	宗 school

As Buddhism gained popularity in China, the sutra translations increasingly spread across the country, and later became a base for folk literature. This caused also non- or less religious terms to be spread and eventually become part of the Chinese lexicon.¹²¹ Later, these morphemes were also used in new compounds, which makes it difficult to identify their Sanskrit roots.¹²² In any case, it is clear that the Buddhist translations had a major influence on the Chinese lexicon. *Fāngbiàn* 方便 ('convenient'), *píngděng* 平等 ('equal'), *shíjì* 实际 ('real') and *shìjiè* 世界 ('world') are some examples of Buddhist loanwords that are still commonly used today.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Examples from Shi (2015: 236-237).

¹¹⁸ Masini (1993: 142).

¹¹⁹ Examples from Sun (2007).

¹²⁰ Examples from Guang (2012: 225).

¹²¹ Shi Xiandong (2015: 237), Masini (1993: 142).

¹²² For example, the morpheme *tǎ* 塔 is derived from Sanskrit and can be seen in Chinese compounds such as *bǎotǎ* 宝塔 ('pagoda'), *dēngtǎ* 灯塔 ('lighthouse'), and *tǎlóu* 塔楼 ('tower'). See Shi (2015: 238).

¹²³ Wilkinson (2000: 40).

2.2. The first encounters with Western languages through the Jesuits

The first large-scale encounters with Westerners date from the 13th century, when the first explorers – for example Marco Polo – arrived in China. These pioneers were stunned by the Chinese language, but their fascination did not yet lead to a profound study of the Mandarin language. During the 16th century, more and more Europeans travelled to China, both merchants and missionaries.¹²⁴ On a lexical level, this led to the inflow of European words in the Chinese lexicon.¹²⁵ Regarding trade vocabulary, the initial inflow is limited to very few loanwords for new Western products. This is why some scholars claim that it was only later, in the 19th century, that contact with European languages started leaving traces in the Chinese lexicon.¹²⁶ Masini and others consider such a statement a great inaccuracy and highlight the important role of the Jesuit missionaries.¹²⁷ From the sixteenth century onwards, European missionaries started traveling the world to introduce Catholicism in these parts of the globe where it was still unknown.¹²⁸ To be able to communicate with the indigenous people, missionaries had to study the local languages. Fung Kam-Wing refers to this practice as “cultural accommodation”.¹²⁹ These language studies often gave rise to the compilation of dictionaries and grammars. Regarding China, it were especially the Jesuit missionaries – Matteo Ricci among others – who were particularly important. Their first missions to China date from 1579 and soon they engaged in the study of Mandarin.¹³⁰ Besides compiling dictionaries, the Jesuits also translated Western texts into Chinese.¹³¹ This included the

¹²⁴ Masini (1993: 5).

¹²⁵ As pointed out before, the main purpose of this chapter is to give a general overview of China’s contact with European languages in general, not solely English.

¹²⁶ Wiebusch & Tadmor write: “Only since the 19th century, mainly after the “Opium War” (1839-1842), does contact between Chinese and European colonial languages leave traces in the Chinese basic lexicon, in spite of earlier encounters since the 16th century.” Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 580). Also see Peyraube (2000: 13).

¹²⁷ Masini (1993: 135).

¹²⁸ Regarding the ‘dialects’ in Chinese, it is important to notice that the early Chinese missionaries were mostly present along the south-eastern coasts of China. Consequently, the Jesuits must particularly have come into contact with the Fujian Hokkien dialect. Nevertheless, the Jesuits chose to focus on the Mandarin language, which was used among officials throughout the country. This choice was given in by the fact that they wanted to work top down, believing that once the emperor and officials were converted, the masses would follow. Secondly, the Jesuits felt the need to interact closely with the elite, since the political top was not completely pleased with the Christian presence in China. Therefore, the missionaries focused on the official language, and mostly neglected the existence of dialects, or mentioned them in a derogatory way. For example, Klöter (2011: 35) quotes: “[...] with the knowledge of this common language, there really is no necessity for the members of our Society to learn the dialects of the provinces in which they work. A province dialect would not be used in polite society.” See Klöter (2011: 23-35).

¹²⁹ Fung (2008: 18).

¹³⁰ Klöter (2011: 27).

¹³¹ Fung (2008: 11).

rendering of religious texts, as well as interpretations and writings on Western cartography, geography, astronomy and science.¹³²

While translating, the Jesuits encountered the same kind of problems as those the Buddhist translators had been confronted with: it was extremely difficult to find Chinese equivalents for – at this time Western – terms concerning religion, philosophy and science.¹³³ The missionaries used several methods to cope with this obstacle. The first option was the phonetic rendering of terminology into Chinese, for example *bùgédūōlūè* 布革多略 for ‘purgatory’, or *yànfūnuò* 咽吠诺 for ‘inferno’. However, this kind of ‘translations’ were considered as barbarous and uncultivated by the Chinese population, as the Chinese terms were semantically completely empty.¹³⁴ Secondly, the Jesuits utilized a method also used by the sutra-translators: redefining ancient (for example Confucian) terms.¹³⁵ When they observed that these loan terms were gladly received, phonetic loanwords were merely used for the transliteration of toponyms and proper names.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, a consequential problem of this second method lies in the fact that there might be a semantic overlap between two terms, but their meanings are not fully the same. The conceptual schemes of sixteenth century Europe were completely different from those existing in China. It is uncertain if Chinese citizens totally grasped the semantic modifications that were injected into the terms.¹³⁷ A third option were loan translations: neologisms that were clearly based on Western terms.¹³⁸ Since an abundance of new terms could be unintelligible for the Chinese, the Jesuits favoured the second option of giving classical terms a new, similar meaning.¹³⁹ Some of these terms survived through the centuries, as Masini states: “Some semantic loans or loan-translations [from Jesuit missionaries]... have survived centuries of linguistic history and native speakers would see no difference between these terms and the rest of the traditional lexicon”.¹⁴⁰

¹³² Masini (1993: 135).

¹³³ Kurtz (2008: 39).

¹³⁴ ‘Semantically empty’ means that the semantic meaning of the morphemes is completely irrelevant. For example, the characters in *bùgédūōlūè* 布革多略 are exclusively used as a phonetic rendering of ‘purgatory’. See Kurtz (2008: 40).

¹³⁵ For example, Kurtz mentions *shàngdì* 上帝 which meant ‘ruler on high’ in a Confucian context, and subsequently adopted the meaning of a Christian ‘God’. Kurtz refers to this phenomenon as “conceptual takeovers”. See Kurtz (2008: 40).

¹³⁶ Masini (1993: 135).

¹³⁷ Kurtz (2008: 39-40).

¹³⁸ Examples are the (now obsolete) terms *rénxué* 人学 (‘the science of man’ – ‘humanities’) and *gōngxué* 工学 (‘common school’ – ‘university’). See Masini (1997: 548-551).

¹³⁹ Kurtz (2008: 39-41).

¹⁴⁰ Masini (1993: 142).

2.3. Trading contact & borrowings via Japan in the nineteenth century

Contact between China and the West remarkably intensified in the course of the 19th century, especially after the Opium Wars.¹⁴¹ The concomitant inflow of Western products, ideas, science and technology also affected the Chinese lexicon.¹⁴² On the one hand, many borrowed words from this period concern cultural terms, like foreign nutriments. Some examples are ‘beer’ *píjiǔ* 啤酒, ‘coffee’ *kāfēi* 咖啡, ‘curry’ *gāilí* 咖喱, ‘ton’ *dūn* 吨,...¹⁴³ On the other hand, loanwords of Western concepts concerning social and natural sciences (e.g. ‘geometry’ *jǐhé* 几何, ‘logic’ *luójí* 逻辑) also entered the Chinese lexicon, often via Japanese.¹⁴⁴ We discuss these two categories in what follows.

The Opium Wars and the Nanjing Treaty were the main contributing factors leading to an opening up of China. In the past, European traders had mostly been present in the southern coastal cities like Guangzhou, but as a result from the Treaty of Nanjing, more areas opened up for foreigners.¹⁴⁵ The improved trading circumstances persuaded merchants to come to China, and an increased amount of Western products entered the country. These merchandises were hitherto unknown to the Chinese population, and therefore did not yet have a Chinese translation. Names of products were mostly transliterated from the original language, as this was regarded the easiest option.¹⁴⁶ Phonetic loans were furthermore used to render place names and proper names. The transliterations developed by the missionaries in the 16th century remained in use.¹⁴⁷ Besides this, there also emerged semantic borrowings and loan-translations. Casalin further mentions the category of “autochthonous neologisms”: new Chinese terms which are most probably based on a foreign word, but their relation is not explicitly clear. Examples of autochthonous neologisms are ‘export’ *chūkǒu* 出口, ‘import’ *jìnkǒu* 进口, and ‘wages’ *gōngzī* 工资.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 580).

¹⁴² Casalin (2008: 133).

¹⁴³ Notice the ‘mouth’ 口 component in these characters, which marks them as ‘phonetic characters’. The mouth-radical is added to an existing character, and indicates that the new character has quasi the same pronunciation as the original. This technique will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapters. See Hu & Xu (2003: 313), Masini (1993: 132).

¹⁴⁴ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).

¹⁴⁵ The most crowded trade areas were the Southern-Chinese cities Aomen (Macao) and Guangzhou (Canton). There, foreigners and Chinese were living closely to each other. This gave rise to the birth of pidgin-languages. In Macao, a mixture of Chinese and Portuguese emerged. In Canton, the largest trade city, people started using a hybrid language in which Chinese grammar was extended with English vocabulary. After the Opium Wars, European merchants started spreading through China, and so did some pidgin Cantonese words. E.g. *sānwénzhì* 三文治 (‘sandwich’ – now merely replaced by *sānmíngzhì* 三明治), *bāshì* 巴士 (‘bus’), *zhīshì* 芝士 (‘cheese’). Masini declares that at least 200 modern Cantonese words were adopted from English, and that one third of them got transferred to Putonghua. See Masini (1993: 14-34).

¹⁴⁶ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).

¹⁴⁷ Masini (1993: 28).

¹⁴⁸ Casalin (2008: 138).

The following table lists some additional examples of loanwords dating from this period.¹⁴⁹

Modern Chinese		English	Category
沙发	shāfā	sofa	phonetic borrowing
坦克 ¹⁵⁰	tǎnkè	tank	phonetic borrowing
版克	bǎnkè	bank	phonetic borrowing (later substituted)
爱康诺米	àikāngnuòmǐ	economy	phonetic borrowing (later substituted)
国债	guózhài	national debt	loan translation
马占	mǎzhàn	merchant	phonetic borrowing
沙文	shāwén	servant	phonetic borrowing (later substituted)
雪利酒 ¹⁵¹	xuělǐjiǔ	sherry	phonetic borrowing

In the 19th century, the European colonizers were dominating the world. Great Asian nations like China and Japan realized that the West was quickly evolving and modernizing. The Japanese reply to this situation came faster and more intense than China's. The Japanese leaders initiated the Meiji-revolution in 1868, which meant a modernization of thought, science, technology, philosophy, politics, economy, in short of the whole society. The basis of this revolution was "learning from the West": Japanese scholars studied and translated Western books and applied this newly obtained knowledge in the field.¹⁵² To name new concepts, the Japanese developed neologisms, or redefined already existing terms.¹⁵³ The Japanese lexicon adopted numerous Western terms in their course to modernization.¹⁵⁴

China had experienced the rising force of the West during the Opium Wars, but it was their defeat in the Sino-Japanese War that truly opened eyes.¹⁵⁵ The Chinese considered the prosperous development of Japan as a result of the application of Western knowledge regarding politics, warfare, science and democracy.¹⁵⁶ In order to regain their political superiority, the Chinese believed that they needed to turn to Western learning as well. Since many important European works were already translated into Japanese, these translations could serve as a shortcut to modern knowledge. As the Japanese language was more related to Chinese than the Indo-European languages were, it seemed to be convenient to study the

¹⁴⁹ Masini (1993: 28).

¹⁵⁰ Examples from Chen & Gao (2009, 91).

¹⁵¹ Examples from Casalin (2008: 137) and Masini (1993: 132).

¹⁵² Gu (2011: 44).

¹⁵³ Masini (1993: 146).

¹⁵⁴ Liu (2012: 1498).

¹⁵⁵ Gu (2011: 55).

¹⁵⁶ Zhao (2006: 315).

Japanese translations rather than the indigenous European sources.¹⁵⁷ Liang Qichao expressed it as follows: “It may take 5 to 6 years to learn English, but even then there would still be plenty of obstacles; one might not be able to read books on politics, economics, philosophy and sociology. Learning even a bit of Japanese, however, can be achieved in a few days, a significant amount in a few months. We can possess all of Japanese scholarship in that time”.¹⁵⁸ Subsequently, students were sent to Japan, who later brought travel journeys and translations back to China.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, institutions for the translation of Japanese sources were founded.¹⁶⁰ By these means, China obtained insights in Western knowledge and science.¹⁶¹ As Gu puts it: “Japan served as the window through which China comprehended the West”.¹⁶² The study and translation of Japanese works led to the entry of many loanwords to China.¹⁶³ These borrowings enriched the Chinese language exceptionally and many of them are still used frequently today.¹⁶⁴ One can pose the question for what reason many loanwords were introduced, while the Chinese language contains sufficient techniques of word formation to coin neologisms itself? The answer to this question is twofold. Firstly, as mentioned before, Chinese and Japanese are very similar languages. It was relatively effortless to adopt the Japanese *kanji* and simply employ the Chinese pronunciation. A second aspect was a lack of time: the Chinese could have created their own vocabulary if necessary, but it would have cost much more time and effort to do so.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, many Chinese were opposed against the massive influx of Japanese loanwords, which could be seen as a threat to their native language. Certain scholars tried to introduce indigenous Chinese terms for new words, but their suggestions often did not break through.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁷ Gu (2011: 44-45).

¹⁵⁸ See Liang “On the benefits of learning Japanese” (1899), cited in Zhao (2006: 321).

¹⁵⁹ Gu (2011: 46-50), Zhao (2006: 318).

¹⁶⁰ Besides Japanese sources, these institutions also directly studied Western languages and scriptures. An example was the in 1862 founded *Jīngshī Tóngwénguǎn* 京师同文馆 (‘Beijing School of Languages’). See Casalin (2008: 11, 135), Masini (1993: 35).

¹⁶¹ Zhao (2006: 316).

¹⁶² “... It helped them to understand Western culture, absorb Western knowledge, learn the beginnings of democracy, strengthen the country, and fortify the army.” See Gu (2011: 62).

¹⁶³ From the 4th century onwards, Japan had been adopting Chinese characters, known as *kanji* in the Japanese script. Throughout the centuries, these *kanji* often got modified. The Japanese also created their own characters (referred to as *wasei-kango*). See Liu (2012: 1492). The entry of Japanese loanwords in the Chinese lexicon was the first occasion where China adopted linguistically from Japan. See Zhao (2006: 325).

¹⁶⁴ Zhao (2006: 309).

¹⁶⁵ Zhao (2006: 323).

¹⁶⁶ For example, Yan Fu introduced ‘economy’ *jìxué* 计学 and ‘society’ *qúnxué* 群学, but these terms could not compete with the generally accepted *jīngjì* 经济 and *shèhuì* 社会. See Zhao (2006: 322).

Loanwords of Japanese origin mostly concerned three domains: life, social sciences and natural sciences.¹⁶⁷ Most of them belonged to the graphic loan type: both the graphic shape, as well as the semantic meaning were adopted, only the pronunciation was transformed into Chinese phonetics.¹⁶⁸ Scholars mention five categories of Japanese loanwords. First of all, *kana*-transliterations of Western terms, which then got re-transliterated into Chinese. Second, *kanji* that were modified or created in Japan, and now returned to their ‘home country’ with an extended, modern meaning.¹⁶⁹ Third, new vocabulary created by the Japanese. Fourth, redefined words; and the fifth and last category concerned ‘conceptual suffixes’.¹⁷⁰ Linked with the ‘modified *kanji*’, as mentioned by Zhao and Liu, many authors make a main distinction between original Japanese loans and return loans. Original loans concern words coined in Japan (whether or not after a Western model) and then introduced in China. Return loans are words whose origins could be traced to China, and which were copied by Japan in some point in history. These terms were given a modernized, modified meaning in Japan, and then returned once again to China.¹⁷¹ Some of these terms had fallen into disuse in China, others were reintegrated.¹⁷² The following table lists some commonly used (return) loanwords, introduced to China via Japan.

Original loans coming from Japan

Chinese		Japanese	English
经济 ¹⁷³	jīngjì	Keizai	economy
百货店	bǎihuòdiàn	hyakkaten	department store
代表	dàibiǎo	daihyō	delegate
商业	shāngyè	shōgyō	trade
银行	yínháng	ginkō	bank
普通	pǔtōng	futsū	common

¹⁶⁷ Examples of loanwords in the category ‘life’ are *làng rén* 浪人 (‘wanderer’), *láodòng* 劳动 (‘labour’), *liǎojiě* 了解 (‘to understand’). Social sciences concern topics such as economics, politics, law, philosophy, etc. For more explanation and examples see Gu (2011: 79-87).

¹⁶⁸ Casalin (2008: 137).

¹⁶⁹ Liu (2012: 1498).

¹⁷⁰ Creative vocabulary is the most important category of Japanese loanwords. An example of a word created in Japan, adopted by China and commonly used there is *kēxué* 科学 (‘science’). Redefined words were often contested in China: it concerned words whose original meaning got overwritten. For example, *mínzhǔ* 民主 – originally ‘master of the people’, which adopted the modern meaning ‘democracy’. Conceptual suffixes indicate abstract meanings. Examples are ‘doctrine’ *zhǔyì* 主义 (e.g. ‘Romanticism’ *làngmànzhǔyì* 浪漫主义, ‘capitalism’ *zīběnzhǔyì* 资本主义) or *xìng* 性 (e.g. ‘historic’ *lìshǐxìng* 历史性). For a more detailed exposition of these categories, see Zhao (2006: 310-314).

¹⁷¹ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).

¹⁷² An example is *mínzhǔ* 民主, which was already used as a term for ‘democracy’ by the missionaries. Nevertheless, in the beginning of the 20th century, the transliteration *démòkèlǎxī* 德谟克拉西 predominated. *Mínzhǔ* 民主 re-entered via Japan and remains the most used word for ‘democracy’ until today. See Sun (2006: 137).

¹⁷³ All examples from Casalin (2008: 138) and Masini (1993: 94-195).

特别	tèbié	tokubetsu	special
校长	xiàozhǎng	kōchō	headmaster

Return loans re-introduced in China by Japanese mediation

Chinese		Japanese	English
世界 ¹⁷⁴	shìjiè	sekai	world
资本	zīběn	shihon	capital
大学	dàxué	daigaku	university
保障	bǎozhàng	hoshō	protect
议院	yìyuàn	giin	parliament
教育	jiàoyù	kyōiku	education
教授	jiàoshòu	kyōju	professor
博士	bóshì	hakase	doctor
物理	wùlǐ	butsurei	physics
警察	jǐngchá	keisatsu	police

Summarizing, we can state that during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, China was linguistically marked by the influx of many Western loanwords. Some entered China through Japanese, others were developed in China itself (transliterations, semantic borrowings, loan translations and neologisms). Shaofen Sun writes: “In the course of translating Western words into Chinese, European missionaries and the Japanese played the most significant roles in forging neologisms in the Chinese language”.¹⁷⁵ Many of these loanwords can still be found in the contemporary Chinese lexicon. Other terms disappeared or were replaced. This was often the case for transliterations, which got exchanged for words with more “semantic content”.¹⁷⁶ The mentioned phenomenon of ‘replacement’ will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁷⁴ Examples from Casalin (2008: 138) and Masini (1993: 94-195).

¹⁷⁵ Sun (2006: 137).

¹⁷⁶ Casalin (2008: 149).

3. English loanwords in the contemporary Chinese lexicon

3.1. Opening remarks

The previous chapter discussed the most important historic periods for the influx of loanwords, that is to say the translation of Buddhist sutras, the translations conducted by Christian missionaries, and terminology related to the 19th century's modernization (imported to China through Japanese intermediation). The historical background can help to understand contemporary borrowings, which we will discuss in what follows. In this opening chapter, we firstly examine the growing importance of English in Modern China, and secondly, we touch upon certain difficulties concerning the borrowing of English words into Chinese.

3.1.1. The growing importance of English in China

Our contemporary world is characterized by a quickly-evolving globalization. Oxford Learner's Dictionary defines 'globalization' as "the fact that different cultures and economic systems around the world are becoming connected and similar to each other, because of the influence of large multinational companies, and of improved communication".¹⁷⁷ Mass media and improved (online) communication devices give cultures and people the opportunity to become closely connected to each other.¹⁷⁸ The Western countries – and especially the United States of America – are influential and powerful nations concerning politics, economy, science, popular culture, etc. As a result, the English language has become dominant on a global scale.¹⁷⁹ As Sun & Jiang state: "English [is] the international language of science and technology. English-speaking countries also exercise great economic and cultural influence, which makes their language attractive to nations desirous of cultural exchange and international development".¹⁸⁰ English is used as an international device for communication by IT people and in the online environment, by scholars and developers, it is used for business purposes, and in the domains of science and technology.¹⁸¹ All over the world, we see young people who are willing to learn English for

¹⁷⁷ Oxford Learner's Dictionary.

¹⁷⁸ Chen & Gao (2009: 92).

¹⁷⁹ Du (2008: 48), Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 121). Notice that linguists in the beginning of the 20th century did not foresee the contemporary prominent position of English in the world. This is shown in a quote from Sapir, who thought English would never have the same enormous influence as French had have: "English has colonized immense territories. But there is nothing to show that it is anywhere entering into the lexical heart of other languages as French has [...] there are now psychological resistances to borrowing, or rather to new sources of borrowing". See Sapir (1921: 207).

¹⁸⁰ Sun & Jiang (2000: 105).

¹⁸¹ Durkin (2014: 353), Du (2008: 47).

communication purposes and with the aim of an international job career.¹⁸² Furthermore, the growing importance and prestige of the English language in the world gives rise to the occurrence of English variants in several countries, and the emergence of English loanwords in many of the world's languages.

Regarding the situation in 20th century China, the first communist leaders ruled the country by rather isolationist strategies. Chinese had been studying the Western works on science and technology since the late 19th century onwards – partly by means of Japanese translations – but the Chinese Communist Party was not particularly eager to conduct much direct contact with the – liberalist – Western world.¹⁸³ This situation, in which China was separated from the outside world came to an end with the Reform and Opening (*gǎigé kāifàng* 改革开放) of China, initiated in the late 1970s.¹⁸⁴ China then turned to the West in order to reform science and technology, and economically opened up for the world. As China became part of the modernized, globalizing world, foreign concepts, terms, and products found their way to the People's Republic.¹⁸⁵ This also meant the starting point of a large-scale presence of English in China, which was not the case before, as Wang & Yang state: “Before the early 70s of the last century, English was seldom heard or seen in China, let alone accepted into Chinese books or dictionaries”.¹⁸⁶ As a result, many English loanwords entered the Chinese lexicon, particularly on the following domains:¹⁸⁷ (1) Words related to trade and business. The economic opening up of China, especially since its entrance to the World Trade Organisation in 2001, gave rise to the emergence of many new words concerning business and new Western products, e.g. ‘hamburger’ *hànbǎobāo* 汉堡包 and ‘hotdog’ *règǒu* 热狗.¹⁸⁸ (2) Vocabulary linked to recent developments in science, technology and the IT-sector, e.g. ‘black hole’ *hēidòng* 黑洞, ‘Nano technology’ *nànmǐjìshù* 纳米技术, ‘email’ *yìmèi'ér* 伊妹儿, ‘World Wide Web’ *wànwéiwǎng* 万维网, ‘personal computer’ *PC jī* PC 机 and ‘hacker’ *hēikè* 黑客.¹⁸⁹ (3) Words related to Western culture and habits, e.g. ‘ballet’ *bālěiwǔ* 芭蕾舞 and ‘disco’ *dískē* 迪斯科.¹⁹⁰

Nevertheless, globalization alone is not sufficient to explain the incorporation of these and many other English words in the Chinese lexicon. Language change can only be induced by the language's

¹⁸² Kang (1999: 46).

¹⁸³ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).

¹⁸⁴ Li (2004: 47), Chen & Gao (2009: 92), Wang & Wang (2007: 74).

¹⁸⁵ Yip (2000: 332), Sun & Jiang (2000: 97), Du (2008: 47).

¹⁸⁶ Wang & Yang (2006: 47).

¹⁸⁷ Ping (1999: 85).

¹⁸⁸ Chen & Gao (2009: 92).

¹⁸⁹ Chen & Gao (2009: 92).

¹⁹⁰ Chen & Gao (2009: 92), Hu & Xu (2003: 314), Yang (2007: 8).

speakers.¹⁹¹ This means that there should be support among the common people to use English loanwords, for they can really become part of the Chinese lexicon. Positively, we perceive an growing appreciation and interest for Western culture and English language among Chinese.¹⁹² This is especially the case for youngsters, as Wiebusch & Tadmor state: “Especially among the young urban people and the growing successful middle class, Western lifestyle and entertainment have become very popular”.¹⁹³ As Western culture is gaining popularity, a growing amount of Chinese people have started studying English (both in Chinese schools and abroad), and more and more English words have been introduced to China.¹⁹⁴ Summarizing, we conclude that the contemporary globalization connects cultures and languages with each other, and this leads to the exchange of terms concerning trade, science, IT, etc.¹⁹⁵ We expect the amount of loanwords in Chinese to further increase in the future.¹⁹⁶ The influx and acceptance of English words in China is closely related to the growing popularity of the West, as Yip declares: “This recent influx of loanwords reflects not only the country’s effort to keep pace with the fast-developing science and ideology of today’s world, but also the vogueish preference among the young generation of Chinese for everything foreign, including language”.¹⁹⁷

3.1.2. Difficulties with the adoption of English words

Regarding the English and the Chinese language, we notice significant differences. First, English makes use of an alphabetic writing system, that is “a system in which graphic signs represent individual sounds or sound segments”.¹⁹⁸ Chinese, on the other hand, is a logographic language, which means that every sign represents a morphological unit.¹⁹⁹ Second, the phonemic inventories of both languages differ substantially. These differences give rise to difficulties with the adoption of English words into Chinese. The amount of loanwords from alphabetic languages in Modern Chinese is rather limited. Some scholars ascribe this to certain characteristics of the Chinese language – such as the syllable structure, the isolating nature and the writing system – which would make borrowing from other languages particularly difficult.²⁰⁰ Mandarin Chinese is indeed a rather isolating language, which means that it barely uses morphological changes to express syntactic relations. The poor morpheme structure makes “borrowing

¹⁹¹ Sun & Jiang (2000: 97).

¹⁹² Bolton (2003: 227).

¹⁹³ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 580).

¹⁹⁴ Bolton (2003: 228), Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 580), Li (2004: 47).

¹⁹⁵ Wang & Wang (2007: 74).

¹⁹⁶ Li (2004: 48).

¹⁹⁷ Yip (2000: 332).

¹⁹⁸ Bussmann (1998: 46).

¹⁹⁹ Bussmann (1998: 46).

²⁰⁰ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 584).

into Mandarin technically easy, since loanwords do not need to undergo complex processes of morphosyntactic integration”.²⁰¹ During the borrowing process, English inflectional suffixes, such as tenses and plurals, can simply be omitted.²⁰² Considering syntactic features, borrowing from English into Chinese is relatively easy.

Nevertheless, certain Chinese characteristics make the integration of loanwords from an alphabetic language as English more complex. We already referred to differences in writing systems and phonemic inventories. Tian calls these complications ‘orthographic constraints’: Mandarin Chinese consists of a fixed inventory of phonemes and syllables, and a more or less solid inventory of characters.²⁰³ A Chinese character represents both meaning and sound.²⁰⁴ The first problem concerning the borrowing of English words, is that the English sounds cannot be copied in their original pronunciation, but should undergo adaptations in order to fit into the Chinese syllable inventory. Since there is no flawless Chinese equivalent for the English phonemes, the outcome can only be an approximation of the original sounds.²⁰⁵ The second problem will then be the selection of an appropriate character to represent this sound, since Chinese does not make use of alphabetic letters.²⁰⁶ Orthographic constraints do make the borrowing process more complex, but there are several strategies at hand to overcome them.²⁰⁷ The outcome is often surprisingly creative, as Yip puts it: “The inherent meaningfulness and moldability of the Chinese language’s phonetic and graphitic elements enables translators to adopt diverse strategies in the production of optimally acceptable forms”.²⁰⁸ Yip hereby refers to the meaningfulness and logographic nature of Chinese characters, the efficiency of word-formation techniques, and the abundance of homophones. In what follows, we will discuss the various strategies for the adoption of English words.

²⁰¹ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 595).

²⁰² Alleton (2001: 19), Chan & Kwok (1990: 43), Li (2003: 77).

²⁰³ Tian (2012: 966 – 967).

²⁰⁴ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 586), Ping (2015: 537).

²⁰⁵ Tian (2012: 966-967), Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 586), Hu (2004: 35).

²⁰⁶ One can argue that Hanyu Pinyin could serve as an alphabetic writing system for the Chinese characters. Both in the past and present, there have been discussions whether Chinese should adopt an alphabet. Often mentioned constraints are that an alphabetic writing system does not correspond to the Chinese way of thinking and processing language; the loss of cultural heritage; pinyin not being adequate; that there are too many homophones (which would cause much confusion); etc. See Liu (1986: 41).

²⁰⁷ Chen (2011: 32).

²⁰⁸ Yip (2000: 327).

3.2. Phonetic borrowing

The first type of loanwords we discuss are phonetic borrowings (*yīnyīfǎ* 音译法). This means that the sound of the original word is reproduced into the borrowing language. At the same time, the semantic meaning remains as closely as possible to that of the source word.²⁰⁹ The result of this kind of borrowing is called a transliteration, which is defined by McArthur as “the result of converting one set of signs to another”.²¹⁰ An example of an English-Chinese transliteration is *shālā* 沙拉 (‘salad’).²¹¹

The first problem related to phonetic borrowing, is that the phonemic inventories of English and Chinese differ considerably (phonemic inventories of the two languages can be found in attachment I). This means that certain phonemes or syllables which are licit in English, can be illicit in Chinese and therefore need to undergo phonological adaptations in order to fit into the Chinese sound system.²¹² In the borrowing process, the closest matching Chinese sounds will be selected, but there exists no one-to-one relationship between English and Chinese phonemes.²¹³ Consequently, the Chinese transliteration is never a perfect reproduction of the English source word, rather an approximation.²¹⁴ The second difficulty with phonetic borrowing is linked to the different writing systems. English is an alphabetic language, built up by phonemes. Mandarin Chinese, on the other hand, is a logographic language, where each sign is a morpheme, represented by a Chinese character. To write down the transliterated word, Chinese characters are selected to reproduce the phonetics of the English source word.²¹⁵ As Alleton argues: “To approximate the phonetic form of a foreign word, one has to break this word into segments corresponding to Chinese syllables”.²¹⁶ The obligatory use of morphemes instead of phonemes puts serious limits to precisely reproducing the original pronunciation.²¹⁷ Furthermore, a Chinese character always carries a semantic meaning, which is disregarded in the newly borrowed word.²¹⁸

²⁰⁹ Sun & Jiang (2000: 98).

²¹⁰ McArthur (1998), cited in Yan (2013: 2).

²¹¹ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).

²¹² Cheng (1985: 180). ‘Licit’ and ‘illicit’ in this context mean that a sound sequence is (non-)existing in a language.

²¹³ Sun & Jiang (2000: 98).

²¹⁴ Yang (2007: 201), Li (2003: 89).

²¹⁵ Yan (2013: 2).

²¹⁶ Alleton (2001: 21).

²¹⁷ Chan & Kwok (1990: 16).

²¹⁸ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 589), Huang & Liao (2002: 313-314), Liu (2008: 38).

More examples of phonetic borrowings are listed below. It is apparent that the Chinese transliterations are only approximations of the English sounds.²¹⁹ The semantic meaning of the individual Chinese characters is to be ignored in the newly made compounds.

English source word	Chinese loanword pinyin	characters	Semantic meaning of the characters
bye-bye ²²⁰	bāibāi	拜拜	do obeisance – do obeisance
disco ²²¹	dísīkē	迪斯科	to enlighten – this – branch of study
chocolate ²²²	qiǎokèlì	巧克力	opportunity – to be able to – power
fan ²²³	fěnsī	粉丝	powder – silk
microphone ²²⁴	màikèfēng	麦克风	wheat – to be able to – wind
pudding ²²⁵	bùdīng	布丁	cloth – man/fourth
salad ²²⁶	shālā	沙拉	granule – to pull
sofa ²²⁷	shāfā	沙发	granule – to send out

Phonetic borrowing can also be regarded as a gradual process. Consider an individual – it can be a translator – who encounters an English word somewhere. The first step is the reception of the English sounds – even while reading this is the case, since people read texts with a voice in their mind.²²⁸ Secondly, the English sounds are converted into the closest matching Chinese correspondent. The third step is to select Chinese characters which represent these sounds.²²⁹ The choice of characters is not self-evident, reckoning the abundance of homophones which are present in Mandarin Chinese. This ‘process’-approach also points out the two major difficulties in borrowing words phonetically from English into Chinese: first, the phonological adaptation of English sounds, and second, the selection of Chinese characters to render these sounds.²³⁰ We discuss these topics more elaborately in the following sections.

²¹⁹ Li (2003: 89).

²²⁰ Sun & Jiang (2000: 98).

²²¹ Sun & Jiang (2000: 99).

²²² Yan (2013: 3).

²²³ Sun & Jiang (2000: 92).

²²⁴ Hu & Xu (2003: 316).

²²⁵ Chen (2011: 32).

²²⁶ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).

²²⁷ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).

²²⁸ Alleton (2001: 21).

²²⁹ Virga & Khudanpur (2003: 365).

²³⁰ An exception to this is the copying of alphabetic words in their original form. See 3.2.4 *Zero translation*.

3.2.1. Phonological adaptation of English sounds

Phonetic borrowing tries to approximate the pronunciation of the source word, but is hindered by the differences in phonemic inventories.²³¹ Several English phonemes and combinations of phonemes are illicit in Mandarin Chinese and therefore need to be modified. Besides phonemes and phoneme combinations, certain English phonological distinctions cannot be maintained in Chinese.²³² On the other hand, there are also Chinese phonological distinctions that do not exist in English. This means that some phonological ‘information’ will be lost in the borrowing process, while other distinctions will be added. Phonological differences between Mandarin Chinese and English are listed below.

Phonological distinctions ²³³	Chinese	English	Example
Aspiration	yes	no	/pa/ 爸 <i>versus</i> /p ^h a/ 怕
Tone	yes	no	mā 妈 má 麻 mǎ 马 mà 骂 ma 吗
Voicing	no	yes	bad /bæd/ <i>versus</i> bat /bæt/
Short versus long syllables	no	yes	fairy /'feəri/ <i>versus</i> ferry /'feri/

Glewwe defines phonological adaptation as “the process whereby word forms from a source language are modified to conform to the phonotactics and other well-formedness requirements of the borrowing language”.²³⁴ Firstly we will discuss the adaptation of English phonemes. Generally, English phonemes are rendered by their closest matching Chinese equivalent. Secondly, we will examine illicit syllable structures, which can be solved by means of deleting a consonant or inserting an extra vowel.

The topic of phonological adaptations needs (and deserves) more investigation. In 2005, Miao Ruiqin published her dissertation “Loanword Adaptation in Mandarin Chinese: Perceptual, Phonological and Sociolinguistic Factors”. She is one of the few authors who focused on the phonological adaptation of European words in the Chinese borrowing process.²³⁵ We combined her theories with complementary insights of Li Zhiyuan, Guo and Glewwe.²³⁶ As literature on this topic is scarce, we tried to check whether the statements seem to be right, and give more (counter) examples.²³⁷ We hope that in the future, more investigation on English-Chinese phonology will be performed. For example, very little is known about

²³¹ Miao (2005: 1).

²³² Cheng (1985: 180).

²³³ Cheng (1985: 179-180).

²³⁴ Glewwe (2015: 1).

²³⁵ Besides English, Miao also investigated Italian and German source words.

²³⁶ Li (2003), Guo (2001), Glewwe (2015).

²³⁷ The majority of the examples mentioned by Miao in her dissertation concern brand names. This can give a distorted picture since brand names often contain characters with a desirable meaning, rather than characters that are the closest correspondents to the original English sounds. We tried to check her statements by using other examples as well. For the topic on brand names, see 3.5.2.2. *Brand names*.

the role of stress (English) and tones (Chinese) in the borrowing process. Further investigation might lead to new insights.

3.2.1.1. Phoneme adaptation

Miao wrote in 2005: “Generally, a foreign phoneme is mapped to its phonologically/phonetically closest correspondent in Mandarin”, and “phoneme mapping from a lending language to Mandarin is flexible in that the same foreign sound can have alternative substitutes in Mandarin”.²³⁸ The latter indicates that there are no absolute rules for the adaptation of phonemes, but in general, the closest Chinese correspondent is selected. In what follows, we discuss the adaptation of vowels, as mentioned by Miao Ruiqin and Li Zhiyuan. I tried to verify their premises by analysing additional examples of English-Chinese transliterations. A checkmark next to the example indicates that the transliteration confirms the theory, while an X indicates an inconsistency. Some inconsistencies can be linked to orthographic reasons: in the phonetic borrowing process, the translator can opt to select characters which convey an accommodating meaning or a desirable connotation. A less similar phonetic substitute with a matching meaning can be preferred over a phonetically better suiting morpheme whose meaning is not in the least related to the source word.²³⁹ With this consideration in mind, most examples seem to confirm the phonological adaptation theories as mentioned by Miao and Li.

Plosives

English and Chinese plosives are similar: English plosives are replaced by their ‘closest correspondent in place’. This refers to the position of tongue and lips to articulate sounds. The studied literature prescribes that voiceless plosives are mostly converted into aspirated plosives, whereas voiced plosives are converted into unaspirated plosives.²⁴⁰

English source word - IPA	Pinyin – IPA – characters	Evaluation	Remarks
champagne - /ʃæm'peɪn/	→ xiāngbīn - /ciɑŋpin/ 香槟	X	reason unclear
Cola - /'kəʊlə/	→ kělè - /kʰɛly/ 可乐	✓	
poker - /'pəʊkə/	→ pūkè - /pʰukʰy/ 扑克	✓✓	
pudding - /'pʊdɪŋ/	→ bùdīng - /putɪŋ/ 布丁	X✓	reason unclear
Puma - /'pju:mə/	→ biāomǎ - /pjɑoma/ 彪马	X	orthographic reason ²⁴¹
tank - /tæŋk/ ²⁴²	→ tǎnkè - /tʰankʰy/ 坦克	✓✓	

²³⁸ Miao (2005: 2).

²³⁹ Miao (2005: 2).

²⁴⁰ Miao (2005: 51-56), Li (2003: 107-108).

²⁴¹ The brand name ‘Puma’ contains the character *biāo* 彪 ‘young tiger’, since this corresponds nicely with their English name.

²⁴² Li (2003: 98).

Fricatives, affricates and glides

English fricatives and affricates are replaced by their closest correspondent in place. One would expect ‘s’ and ‘z’ to be rendered by ‘s’, but in reality we see conversions to ‘s’, ‘sh’, and ‘j’.²⁴³ The ‘v’, which is illicit in Chinese, is mostly converted to ‘f’ or ‘u’.²⁴⁴ Glides (‘j’, ‘w’, ‘x’) are often combined by the high vowels ‘i’, ‘u’ and ‘y’ in Chinese.²⁴⁵

	English source word	Pinyin – IPA – characters	Remarks
Fricatives	<u>s</u> ofa - /'səʊfə/	→ shāfā - /ʃafa/ 沙发	×✓ Firstly introduced in Shanghai. ²⁴⁶
	coff <u>e</u> e - /'kɒfi/	→ kāfēi - /kʰafei/ 咖啡	✓
	<u>v</u> olt - /vɔʊlt/ ²⁴⁷	→ fútè - /futʰə/ 伏特	✓
	miss <u>z</u> - /mɪs/	→ mīsī - /mɪsz/ 密斯	✓
	<u>c</u> igar - /sɪ'gɑ:(r)/	→ xuějiā - /ɕuɕtɕja/ 雪茄	× reason unclear
	<u>h</u> ormone - /'hɔ:məʊn/ ²⁴⁸	→ hé'ěrméng - /xəɣrməŋ/ 荷尔蒙	✓
	jaz <u>z</u> - /dʒæz/ ²⁴⁹	→ juéshì - /tɕuɕsɕz/ 爵士	× reason unclear
Affricates	<u>Ch</u> eetos - /'tʃi:tɔs//	→ qíduō - /tɕʰitwɔ/ 奇多	✓
	<u>ch</u> ocolate - /'tʃɒkəlɪt	→ qiǎokèlì - /tɕʰjaukʰɿli/ 巧克力	✓
	<u>AIDS</u> - eɪdz	→ àizī - /aɪtsz/ 爱滋	✓
Glides	<u>y</u> o-yo - /'jəʊjəʊ/	→ yōuyōuqiú - /jəʊjəʊtɕʰjəʊ/ 悠悠球	✓
	<u>Y</u> ahoo - /jə'hu:/	→ yǎhǔ - /jaxu/ 雅虎	✓

Nasals

English and Chinese nasals are similar and thus mostly retained. ‘-m’ cannot be used as coda in Modern Chinese, and should thus be replaced by one of the other nasals. Another option is to add a vowel.²⁵⁰

	English source word	Pinyin – IPA – characters	Remarks
	<u>m</u> otorcycle - /'məʊtə'saɪkl/	→ mótuōchē - /mouʰtɔtɕyʰ/ 摩托车	✓
	opi <u>m</u> - /'əʊpjəm/	→ yāpiàn - /japʰjɛn/ 鸦片	✓
	carto <u>n</u> - /kɑ:'tu:n/	→ kǎtōng - /kʰatʰɔŋ/ 卡通	✓
	<u>M</u> arlboro	→ wànbǎolù - /wanpɑʊlu/ 万宝路	× orthographic reason ²⁵¹

²⁴³ Li (2003: 111).

²⁴⁴ Miao (2005: 56-67).

²⁴⁵ Miao (2005: 75-77).

²⁴⁶ ‘Sofa’ was firstly introduced in Shanghai, where 沙发 is pronounced as *safa*, being the closest correspondent in place. See Gao & Liu (1958, 157), cited in Li (2003: 90).

²⁴⁷ Li (2003: 105).

²⁴⁸ Li (2003: 112).

²⁴⁹ Li (2003: 111).

²⁵⁰ Miao (2005: 67-71).

²⁵¹ The cigarette company Marlboro opted for a Chinese brand name that translates as ‘The path of ten thousand treasures’.

Laterals

/l/ is a licit phoneme in Mandarin Chinese and can be copied as such. Regarding /r/, only the retroflex /ɻ/ does exist in Chinese, in coda position known as the *érhuà* 儿化.²⁵² The /r/ is often replaced by its closest correspondent /l/. In coda position, /l/ and /r/ are mostly omitted, in rare cases they are replaced by the retroflex /ɻ/.²⁵³ The limited use of *érhuà* can possibly be explained by its Northern-Chinese character.²⁵⁴

English source word		Pinyin – IPA – characters		Remarks
salad - /'sæləd/ ²⁵⁵	→	shālā - /ʃalɑ/ 沙拉	✓	
radar - /'reɪdər/ ²⁵⁶	→	lédá - /leita/ 雷达	✓✓	/l/ + deletion of coda
cigar - /sɪ'gɑːr/ ²⁵⁷	→	xuějiā - /ɕʰɛtɕeja/ 雪茄	✓	deletion
email - /'iːmeɪl/	→	yīmèir - /yimeɪɻ/ 伊妹儿	✓	retroflex

Vowels

Until now, there is no study focusing on vowel adaptation.²⁵⁸ In general, it seems to be the case that vowels are represented by their closest correspondent. Notice that not all consonants can be combined with all possible vowels in Chinese, since there is a fixed syllable inventory. In the phonetic borrowing process, consonant adaptation seems to be the primary concern, while the matching of vowels comes second.

Tone

Glewwe has done some research on tones and compared her findings with these of Wu and Chang & Bradley.²⁵⁹ However, their conclusions are contradictory, and we therefore chose not to mention them here. This demonstrates that further investigation on the topic is desirable.

In summary, we perceive significant adjustments of English phonemes in their conversion to Chinese. The phonetic distinction of tone is added, while voicing is lost. The general tendency is that an English phoneme is replaced by its closest correspondent, but this might vary in some cases.

²⁵² “Rhotacization, also known as *érhuà*, is the suffixation of an *ér* sound to the final, often accompanied by changes to the sound values of the latter”. See Ping (1999: 36).

²⁵³ Miao (2005: 71-75).

²⁵⁴ Miao (2005: 102) ascribes the limited use of *érhuà* to the fact that Chinese were historically mostly influenced by the British people, while the retroflex /ɻ/ is a typically American sound. This point of view is questionable, since in contemporary times, it is especially the American culture that is influencing the globe.

²⁵⁵ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).

²⁵⁶ Tian (2012: 970).

²⁵⁷ Li (2003: 99).

²⁵⁸ Li argues that English vowels are not separate items, rather they blend into each other and are therefore difficult to distinguish. This is his motivation for not studying vowel adaptations. See Li (2003: 106-107).

²⁵⁹ Wu (2006), Chang & Bradley (2012), cited by Glewwe (2015: 1-15).

3.2.1.2. Illicit syllable structures

English and Chinese have different possible syllable structures. English has a syllable structure of (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C). While tri-consonantal clusters are rare, di-consonants are often encountered.²⁶⁰ The syllable structure in Mandarin Chinese, on the other hand, is (C)(G)V(C), where only a vowel as nucleus is mandatory.²⁶¹ Consonant clusters do not exist in Modern Chinese, and in coda position only the finals /-n/ and /-ng/ are possible.²⁶² This means that English consonant clusters and many consonant codas are illicit in Mandarin Chinese. The different syllable structures make modifications while borrowing inevitable.²⁶³ Chris Wen-Chao Li declares:

“Languages vary greatly in their syllable structure templates, as a result of which a sound sequence permitted in one language may not be legitimate in another. Problems arise when attempting to transliterate a language with a more complex syllable structure in a language with a simpler syllable structure. Because the target language cannot allow structures in the source language, modifications such as deletion, epenthesis and blending have to be called upon to adapt potential loan words”.²⁶⁴

The two major strategies to eliminate illicit consonant clusters are consonant deletion and vowel insertion. Consonant deletion implies that one (or several) consonants are omitted, in order to fit into the (C)(G)V(C)-structure. The other option is the insertion of a vowel in order to syllabify, this is also referred to as ‘vowel epenthesis’.²⁶⁵ Examples are listed below.

Consonant deletion	Maryland ²⁶⁶	→	Mǎ-lǐ-lán_ 马里兰	deletion of coda ‘d’
	poker ²⁶⁷	→	pū-kè_ 扑克	deletion of coda ‘r’
	guitar ²⁶⁸	→	jí-tā_ 吉他	deletion of coda ‘r’
	Paris	→	bà-lǐ_ 巴黎	deletion of coda ‘s’
	microphone ²⁶⁹	→	mài-kè-fēng 麦克风	deletion of ‘r’
	card ²⁷⁰	→	kǎ 卡	deletion of coda ‘rd’
Vowel insertion	golf ²⁷¹	→	gāo-ěr-fū 高尔夫	insertion of a vowel to eliminate illicit coda
	shock ²⁷²	→	xiū-kè 休克	insertion of a vowel to eliminate illicit coda
	jeep ²⁷³	→	jí-pǔ 吉普	insertion of a vowel to eliminate illicit coda

²⁶⁰ Guo (2001: 193).

²⁶¹ C: consonant, G: glide, V: vowel. See San (2007: 15).

²⁶² Li (2003: 88). Notice that in some Chinese dialects (e.g. Cantonese) final consonants -p, -t, -k are possible, as a heritage from Middle Chinese. See Norman (1988: 52), Ramsey (1989: 88).

²⁶³ Guo (2001: 191).

²⁶⁴ Li (2007: 49).

²⁶⁵ Guo (2001: 191), Miao (2005: 97-107).

²⁶⁶ Guo (2001: 193).

²⁶⁷ Li (2003: 99).

²⁶⁸ Li (2003: 99).

²⁶⁹ Li (2003: 96).

²⁷⁰ Li (2003: 97).

²⁷¹ Li (2003: 96).

²⁷² Li (2003: 98).

²⁷³ Li (2003: 98).

quark	→ kuā-kè 夸克	deletion of consonant ‘r’ + insertion of a vowel to eliminate illicit coda
clone ²⁷⁴	→ kè-lóng 克隆	C ₁ C ₂ V → C ₁ V C ₂ V
snooker	→ sī-nuò-kè 斯诺克	C ₁ C ₂ V → C ₁ V C ₂ V

An example with many illicit sound sequences is ‘Frankfurt’ (from German):

Frankfurt 'fræŋkfɜ:t → Fālánkèfú 法兰克福

Illicit consonant cluster /fr/ → vowel insertion /a/

Illicit consonant /r/ → /l/

Illicit consonant cluster /kf/ → vowel insertion /e/

Illicit consonant coda /rt/ → deletion

3.2.2. Selection of Chinese characters

As the first step of phonetic borrowing is the transformation of the English sounds into licit Chinese syllables, the second is to select characters to represent these syllables. Mandarin Chinese contains a tremendous amount of homophones – especially when tonal differences are ignored – which implies that each syllable corresponds to a group of characters.²⁷⁵ An English transliteration can thus be represented by various Chinese characters. This gives rise to arbitrariness and disunity. Notice that an English word can have multiple Chinese translations on three levels. First, the adaptation of sounds can vary depending on region and dialect.²⁷⁶ Second, different translators can select other characters to represent the adapted English sounds.²⁷⁷ And third, words can have various loans according to the borrowing method employed, for example transliteration and semantic translation (see 3.3. *Semantic borrowing*). Examples of foreign words with several translations are given below.

English source word	Transliterations	Other translations
laser	láisài 来赛	jīguāng 激光 (semantic borrowing)
	láisài 莱赛	
	léishè 雷射 (Taiwanese)	
	léishè 镭射 (Taiwanese)	
hacker ²⁷⁸	hēikè 黑客	
	háikè 骇客 (Taiwanese)	

²⁷⁴ Chen (2011: 32).

²⁷⁵ Yang (2007: 87).

²⁷⁶ Yang (2007: 90-98). This causes certain transliterations to be very opaque in their Mandarin Chinese pronunciation. For example, the transliteration for ‘Portugal’ Pútáoyá 葡萄牙 makes a lot more sense in the Xiamen-dialect, where 牙 is pronounced as /ga/. See Yang (2007: 98).

²⁷⁷ Zhou & Jiang (2004: 49), Yan (2013: 1).

²⁷⁸ Examples from Shi (2013), cited in Miao (2016: 575).

chocolate ²⁷⁹	qiǎokèlì 巧克力 zhūgǔlì 朱古力 (Cantonese)
cement ²⁸⁰	shuǐní 水泥 shuǐméntīng 水门汀 (Shanghainese)

Phonetic borrowing often arouses criticism among Chinese scholars. The first objection against transliterations is the arbitrariness in the selection of characters, which leads to disunity.²⁸¹ Secondly, characters are solely selected for their phonetic value, there is no relation between the inherent meaning of the characters and the word in question.²⁸² Linguists often argue that as each character carries meaning and sound, both should be retained. They consider the use of characters exclusively for their pronunciation value as very ‘un-Chinese’. Many Chinese scholars therefore believe that semantic translations are to be preferred over pure phonetic borrowings. We will discuss this controversy extensively in 3.4. *Choosing phonetic or semantic borrowing*.

3.2.3. Phonetic characters

The Chinese language contains some phonetic characters that do not (or barely) carry semantic meaning. Examples are the characters *ma* 吗, *ne* 呢, *ba* 吧, *hā* 哈, *sī* 斯, etc.²⁸³ Many phonetic characters can be recognized by the ‘mouth’-radical 口, which indicates that the character is solely employed for its sound value.²⁸⁴ Phonetic characters are sometimes used in the transliteration of foreign words and proper names, e.g. ‘coffee’ *kāfēi* 咖啡, ‘curry’ *gāli* 咖喱, ‘bar’ *jiǔbā* 酒吧 (see 3.5.1. *Loanblends*), ‘Harvard’ *Hāfó* 哈佛, ‘Russia’ *Éluósī* 俄罗斯.²⁸⁵ This technique of creating characters for the transliteration of phonetic

²⁷⁹ Chan & Kwok (1990: 93).

²⁸⁰ Yang (2007: 96).

²⁸¹ Hu (2004: 35).

²⁸² Alleton writes on this: “In the written form, characters will be chosen for their pronunciation, without any necessary relation between their meaning and the word in question. To avoid meaning interferences or absurd sequences, it is now recommended that quasi-meaningless characters, which are not currently used in contemporary language, be employed. Application of this principle would, over the long term, result in the creation of a syllabary, but it has never been consistently put into practice.” See Alleton (2001: 21-22).

²⁸³ Many of these are used as particles, interjections, onomatopoeia, etc.

²⁸⁴ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 586), Hannas (1997: 118), Chan & Kwok (1990: 38).

²⁸⁵ Once these phonetic characters are widely known and accepted, it is possible that they do take on meaning. For example, *pí* 啤 was introduced in Chinese as a phonetic character, but more and more it attains the characteristics of a meaningful semantic morpheme as it is used in new compounds such as ‘dark beer’ *hēipi* 黑啤, ‘amber coloured beer’ *nuǎnpí* 暖啤 and ‘draft beer’ *xiānpí* 鲜啤. This is also the case for *bā* 吧: ‘book café’ *shūbā* 书吧 and ‘internet café’ *wǎngbā* 网吧. See Zhao (2006: 39), Yip (2000: 345), Li (2003: 130).

borrowings originates from the Buddhist sutra translators.²⁸⁶ Technically speaking, it would be possible to create phonetic characters for the rendition of all phonetic loans.²⁸⁷ This would reduce the discrepancy between meaning and sound that is usually present in phonetic loans and that is often criticised. Notice that the overall-use of phonetic characters would bring the Chinese language a step closer to becoming a phonetic (instead of logographic) writing system. However, this practice is rarely encountered as Chinese have not created a significant number of new phonetic characters in recent times.

3.2.4. Zero translation

Zero translation, also called (direct) transplanted (*yuánwén yízhí fǎ* 原文移植法), refers to the appearance of alphabetic letters in Mandarin Chinese.²⁸⁸ There are two types of zero translation: pure lettered words (*zìmǔcí* 字母词) and letters in combination with Chinese morphemes.²⁸⁹ The first type concerns English words, initialisms, and acronyms, which got copied in their original shape into Chinese.²⁹⁰ Examples are WTO, CD, BBC, DNA, PPT, Excel etc.²⁹¹ The second option is the combination of alphabetic letters and a Chinese part. The source word is mostly a compound word, made up of a letter plus a word. In Chinese, a part of the source word is translated, while the letter is simply ‘transplanted’.²⁹² Examples are ‘ATM machine’ *ATM jī* ATM 机, ‘USB’ *U pán* U 盘, ‘X-ray’ *X guāng* X 光, ‘Y-chromosome’ *Y rǎnsètǐ* Y 染色体, ‘T-shirt’ *T xù* T 恤, etc.²⁹³ Zero translation can be understood as the outcome of the contemporary rapid developments and globalization. Since there is a lack of time to produce an appropriate Chinese translation, the word is borrowed in its original alphabetic form.²⁹⁴ The biggest advantage of initialisms and acronyms is their conciseness, which is exactly the reason why they are employed in English in the first place.²⁹⁵ It is much more convenient to write ‘WTO’ instead of ‘World Trade Organisation’, and ‘DNA’ instead of ‘deoxyribonucleic acid’. As for Chinese, it is more opportune to use ‘WTO’ and ‘DNA’ instead of *shìjiè màoùyì zǔzhī* 世界贸易组织 and *tuōyǎng*

²⁸⁶ Guang (2012: 224).

²⁸⁷ For example, ‘sofa’ *shāfā* could then become something like 口沙口发 instead of 沙发.

²⁸⁸ Kui (2011: 101), Yip (2000: 327).

²⁸⁹ Tian (2012: 969-970). Sun & Jiang (2000: 103). Wang & Yang refer to the two categories as ‘pure lettered words’ and ‘semi-lettered words’ respectively. See Wang & Yang (2006: 48).

²⁹⁰ “Initialisms and acronyms are composed of the initial letters or parts of a compound term, but an initialism is generally verbalized letter by letter (e.g. CD), while an acronym is usually read or spoken as a single word (e.g. AIDS).” See Sun & Jiang (2000: 103).

²⁹¹ Chen & Gao (2009: 93), Chen (2011: 32).

²⁹² Wang (2004: 49).

²⁹³ *T xù* T 恤 is partly transplanted (*T*), partly transliteration (‘shirt’ *xù*). See Yip (2000: 345), Wang & Wang (2007: 75).

²⁹⁴ Chen & Gao (2009: 93).

²⁹⁵ Sun & Jiang (2000: 103), Shi (2006: 36).

hétáng hésuān 脱氧核糖核酸.²⁹⁶ Zero translations also reflect the growing importance and popularity of the English language in China. As Yip explains: “As the Chinese people become more and more receptive to foreign ideas, their language also becomes more and more receptive to foreign, particularly English, script. This has made direct transplantation possible”.²⁹⁷ Especially young people, who attain a higher proficiency in foreign language than the older generations, make much use of English letters.²⁹⁸

Nevertheless, language purists point out that lettered words affect the “purity and unity” of the Chinese language.²⁹⁹ For people with a minor education and monolinguals, these terms are very difficult to understand.³⁰⁰ The use of lettered words is also mentioned in Article 11 of the Law on the People’s Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language:

“According to the law, (1) for those lettered words that have equivalent Chinese free translations, the lettered words should be replaced by Chinese free translations in publications in Chinese. Therefore, *shìjiè màoùyì zǔzhī* 世界贸易组织 replaces WTO, *guónèi shēngchǎn zǒngzhí* 国内生产总值 replaces GDP in publications in Chinese. (2) For those lettered words that have no equivalent free translation in Chinese temporarily, Chinese annotation should be used together with these lettered words in publications in Chinese, for instance, KTV should be followed by Chinese notes *yúlè huò cānyǐn chángsuǒ de kǎlāOK bāoxiāng* 娱乐或餐饮场所的卡拉 OK 包厢 (an activity that people do for entertainment in which someone sings a song while a karaoke machine plays the music to the song with the lyrics shown by a TV).³⁰¹

The Law on Standardized Chinese prescribes that the use of lettered words should be avoided, or at least provided with a descriptive in Mandarin Chinese. In reality, lettered words are encountered daily online, in newspapers and magazines, without any descriptive in Chinese.³⁰² Newly-compiled or revised Chinese dictionaries also contain more and more lettered words.³⁰³ This shows that despite the critiques, lettered words “have, more or less, become part of the language”.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁶ Notice that initialisms are sometimes even used for Chinese terms, for example HSK (*Hànyǔ Shuǐpíng Kǎoshì* 汉语水平考试, a Chinese proficiency test). See Wang & Yang (2006: 49).

²⁹⁷ Yip (2000: 345).

²⁹⁸ Zhao (2006: 37).

²⁹⁹ Hu (2004: 35), Hu & Xu (2003: 311).

³⁰⁰ Tian (2012: 967).

³⁰¹ Database of Law & Regulations on the website of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China, cited by Shi (2006: 36-37).

³⁰² Kozha (2012: 108).

³⁰³ Wang & Yang (2006: 47-48).

³⁰⁴ Wang (2004: 49).

3.3. Semantic borrowing

Semantic borrowing (*yìyǐfǎ* 意译法) purely focuses on meaning.³⁰⁵ This implies that the phonetic pattern of the source word is not preserved or approximated.³⁰⁶ Chen describes semantic borrowing as “a Chinese word using indigenous morphemes in a way that attempts to capture the most characteristic feature of the foreign concept”.³⁰⁷ The most subtle form of semantic borrowing is a “shift in meaning”, as mentioned by Wiebusch & Tadmor: the meaning of a Chinese word or morpheme is expanded or modified under the influence of a foreign word. They give the example of *diàn* 电 which meant ‘lightning’ in the past, but nowadays carries the meaning of ‘electricity’.³⁰⁸ Meaning shifts are often the result of contact situations with other cultures, but it is unclear from which language the shift exactly derives. Well-known types of semantic borrowings are loan translations (*calques*) and free translations.³⁰⁹

3.3.1. Loan translations

A loan translation or *calque* is a literal translation of a foreign term: each element of the foreign word gets translated into the borrowing language.³¹⁰ The result is an “exact copy of the source word”.³¹¹ Loan translation is often called a “morpheme-for-morpheme” translation, since each morpheme is translated independently to form a new compound.³¹² For example, the English word ‘lover’ consists of two morphemes: the verb ‘to love’, and the agentive morpheme ‘-er’. These morphemes are translated separately in Chinese as the verb ‘to love’ *ài* 爱, and the agentive morpheme *rén* 人 (‘person’), which together makes *àirén* 爱人.³¹³ Additional examples of loan translations are listed below.

³⁰⁵ Yip (2000: 338). A special kind of semantic borrowing is a ‘graphetic translation’. Regrettably, research on this kind of loanwords is very limited. Yip writes the following on graphetic translation: “In this case the shape of the Chinese script is exploited for its resemblance to the referent of the term being translated. The second syllable is always the word 字 *zì* ‘written character’. Examples are ‘pyramid’ *jīnzìtǎ* 金字塔, ‘T-square’ *dīngzìchǐ* 丁字尺, ‘the Cross’ *shízìjià* 十字架 and ‘Z-shaped or ‘zigzag’ *zhīzìxíng* 之字形. These words contain three parts: 1) a character that depicts the shape of the referent 2) the character *zì* 字 3) a semantic indicator. The examples can literally be understood as: ‘a tower formed like the character 金’, ‘a length with the shape of the character 丁’, ‘a frame shaped like the character 十’, and ‘an entity looking like the character 之’.

³⁰⁶ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 590), Zhou & Jiang (2004: 49).

³⁰⁷ Ping (1999: 103).

³⁰⁸ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 590-591).

³⁰⁹ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 590).

³¹⁰ Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 591), Heffernan (2011: 479).

³¹¹ Yip (2000: 337).

³¹² Tian (2012: 966), Chen & Gao (2009: 93), Ping (1999: 103).

³¹³ T’sou (2001: 49).

English source word	Loanword in Chinese	Meaning of the components
basketball	lánqiú 蓝球	basket - ball
black market	hēishì 黑市	black - market
blueprint	lántú 蓝图	blue - picture
bottleneck	píngjǐng 瓶颈	bottle - neck
flagship	qíjiàn 旗舰	flag - warship
flea market	tiàozǎo shìchǎng 跳蚤市场	flea - market
honeymoon ³¹⁴	mìyuè 蜜月	honey - moon
horse power ³¹⁵	mǎlì 马力	horse - power
hotdog	règǒu 热狗	hot - dog
lover ³¹⁶	àirén 爱人	to love - person
Oxford	niújīn 牛津	ox - a ford
soft drink	ruǎnyǐnliào 软饮料	soft - beverage
superman	chāorén 超人	super - person
test-tube baby	shìguǎn yīng'ér 试管婴儿	to test - tube - baby - suffix
to make love ³¹⁷	zuò'ài 做爱	to make - to love

3.3.2. Free translations

Whereas loan translations are morpheme-for-morpheme translations of the source word, free translations are a lot more innovative and characterized by a high degree of naturalization in Chinese.³¹⁸ A free translation is in fact a description of a foreign cultural term in a Chinese mode of writing.³¹⁹ The neologisms are obviously modelled after a foreign word, but there is no direct (phonetic or semantic) relation with the source word, which makes the link to the original rather opaque. T'sou calls this category “descriptive labels”, as free translation is “the description of culturally non-compatible items in a Chinese way”.³²⁰ In order to translate the foreign source word, Chinese morphemes are combined in a very creative way. Examples of free translations are listed below.

³¹⁴ Examples from Tian (2012: 966).

³¹⁵ Sun (2006: 188).

³¹⁶ T'sou (2001: 49).

³¹⁷ Examples from Chen (2011: 33).

³¹⁸ Heffernan (2011: 479), Hu (2004: 35), Chen & Gao (2009: 93). Sometimes also called ‘creations’: “Innovations (neologisms) in the language, most probably based on a foreign model, but no full reproduction of it.” See Winford (2010: 172-173), refers to Haugen (1950: 220).

³¹⁹ Zhang (2002: 247-248), cited in Kui (2011: 101).

³²⁰ T'sou (2001: 48-49).

English word	Chinese free translation	Literal meaning of the Chinese term
giraffe ³²¹	chángjǐnglù 长颈鹿	long-necked deer
computer	diànnǎo 电脑	electric brain
typewriter ³²²	dǎzìjī 打字机	machine that types characters
church	jiàotáng 教堂	religious hall
euthanasia ³²³	ānlèsi 安乐死	peaceful and gladly dying
condom	ānquántào 安全套	safety cover

The Chinese translators take some of the most appealing characteristics of the source word and produce a neologism. The abstract foreign word is reformed into a very concrete, almost tactile descriptive noun. Closely related to free translations are figurative translations, a category mentioned by Yip. Where a semantic or explanatory translation is inadequate, a foreign term is given a metaphorical description.³²⁴ Compared to free translations, figurative translations go even further in finding a Chinese way of explaining concepts and things.³²⁵ Examples of figurative translations are given below.

English word	Chinese free translation	Literal translation of the Chinese term	Remarks
distorting mirror	hāhājìng 哈哈镜	sound-of-laughter mirror	onomatopoeic
hula-hula	cǎoqúnwǔ 草裙舞	grass-skirt dance	metonymy
kaleidoscope	wànhuātǒng 万花筒	ten thousand flower tube	imaginative
vampire ³²⁶	xīxuèguǐ 吸血鬼	blood sucking ghost	descriptive
rugby	gǎnlǎnqiú 橄榄球	olive ball	metaphor

The English source word is abstract: its form gives no indication of the semantic meaning and solely refers to a concept in the outer-linguistic reality. Free translation makes this foreign term concrete by describing the semantics in an imaginative, lyrical way. The final character gives an indication of the meaning or category, while the first two characters are very sensory. Often figures of speech are included, as the examples demonstrate: a ‘distorting mirror’ (*hāhājìng* 哈哈镜) is described as a mirror which purpose is to make people laugh (onomatopoeic sound of laughing ‘haha’). The free translation for ‘hula-

³²¹ T’sou (2001: 48-49).

³²² Ping (1999: 103).

³²³ Sun & Jiang (2000: 100).

³²⁴ Yip (2000: 338).

³²⁵ “Figurative translation, in fact, is more often used for translating source language idioms than words. Good figurative translations nourish and enrich the target language in a most amazing way. In some cases, native speakers of the target language accept these translations as if they were part of their own language and never suspect that they could be translations.” As examples of this, Yip mentions *qiǎnzhe bízi zǒu* 牵着鼻子走 for ‘lead by the nose’ and *jiàn shù bú jiàn lín* 见树不见林 for ‘cannot see the wood for the trees’. See Yip (2000: 338).

³²⁶ Examples from Yip (2000: 338).

hula dance' (*cǎoqúnwǔ* 草裙舞) focusses on a visual aspect: the clothes that the dancers wear (metonymy). 'Kaleidoscope' (*wànhuātǒng* 万花筒) and 'rugby' (*gǎnlǎnqiú* 橄榄球) are also very sensory: looking into a kaleidoscope creates the impression of staring at thousands of flowers, while the oval rugby ball has the shape of an olive (metaphor).

In free translations and figurative translations, the relationship with the source word is rather indistinct. The original pronunciation is completely abandoned, and the semantic meaning is denoted by a (metaphorical) Chinese description. As mentioned by Hu & Xu, these words are noticeably 'naturalized' in the Chinese language.³²⁷ This can cause complications for etymological research as the exact origin of the loanword is quite difficult to detect for both Chinese and non-Chinese scholars. An indication of their foreign nature can be that free and figurative translations are often three-character words, while such phrases are rarely encountered in Modern Chinese.

³²⁷ Hu & Xu (2003: 310).

3.4. Choosing phonetic or semantic borrowing

3.4.1. The pros and cons of phonetic borrowing

A transliteration is both phonetically and semantically an approximation of the English source word. An important advantage of this kind of borrowing is its promptness: the adaptation of the English sounds is merely a mental process, while the character selection is rather arbitrary.³²⁸ In times of massive cultural contact through globalization and new communicative means (internet etc.), foreign influence on language is immense. As the influx of loanwords is rapid and large, it can be difficult to immediately find an adequate semantic translation that completely encloses the meaning of the source term.³²⁹ One can then opt for a pure phonetic transliteration of the source term. Yang relates this to Xuanzang's *wūbùfān*: since certain culturally bound terms are nearly impossible to translate, it might be a better option to simply not translate, and thus opt for transliteration.³³⁰

Furthermore, transliterations can be a concise alternative for long semantic descriptions, as Wang Hongyuan states: "It is evident that a phonetic borrowing can express concrete or even abstract concepts more concisely and effectively than a semantic borrowing, which needs a wordy explanation".³³¹ For example, both in written and spoken form, it is more convenient to use the transliteration *àizī* 艾滋 for 'AIDS', instead of the long descriptive term *huòdéxìng miǎnyì quēsǔn zònghézhèng* 获得性免疫缺损综合征 ('Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome').³³²

Chan & Kwok composed a list of "English Loan Words in Hong Kong Chinese", which mostly contains transliterations.³³³ Besides loans in Hong Kong Cantonese, the corresponding loanwords in Putonghua are listed as well.³³⁴ After an examination of this index, we observe that (almost) all transliterations can be summarized in a few topics: cultural terms, Western objects and nutrients, religious terms, and pharmaceuticals. A more thorough report of our analysis can be found in Attachment II. From this limited examination and the examples mentioned in section 3.2. *Phonetic borrowings*, we can presume that

³²⁸ Yang (2007: 73).

³²⁹ Chan & Kwok call this "need-filling": the need to name a new term quickly. See Chan & Kwok (1990: 23-24). Also see Kang (1990: 47).

³³⁰ Yang (2007: 75).

³³¹ Wang (2004: 48). Also see Chan & Kwok (1990: 23-24).

³³² Yip (2000: 333). Another example is 'OPEC' (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries), where the transliteration *ōupèikè* 欧佩克 is preferred over *shíyóu shūchūguó zǔzhī* 石油输出国组织. See Wang (2004: 49).

³³³ See 'Appendix I: English Loan Words in Hong Kong Chinese' in Chan & Kwok (1990: 85-125).

³³⁴ I did not examine the Hong Kong Cantonese forms, which are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

phonetic borrowings mostly concern (1) culture-related terms which are (2) difficult to define by a descriptive translation.³³⁵ This confirms the theorem of Xuanzang – 1500 years later.

Contras of transliterations were already mentioned in chapter 3.2. *Phonetic borrowings*. Despite its advantages, certain linguistic factors hinder the convenience of transliterations. Novotna refers to the “syllabic and combinatory restrictions of the Chinese phonemes” (which require phonological adaptations) and the “phono-ideographic nature of the Chinese writing system” (difficulties with the selection of characters).³³⁶ The biggest point of criticism against phonetic borrowing is definitely that the semantic value of the Chinese characters which comprise the loanword is neglected. Many scholars label this as very ‘un-Chinese’, as Chinese readers expect and prefer words in which there is at least an indicative of meaning.³³⁷ Using morphemes solely for their phonetic value, can give rise to confusion among Chinese individuals (‘Is the meaning of the characters simply to be ignored?’).³³⁸

According to Ping Chen, Chinese attach much importance to the use of characters in which sound and meaning are combined harmoniously. If one of these two is omitted “it requires more processing effort” of a Chinese reader to understand the term.³³⁹ Hoosain believes that the inherent meaning of morphemes is particularly important in Chinese: “Although much controversy still surrounds the cognitive mechanisms underlying the processing of Chinese characters, most researchers seem to believe that the Chinese script indicates meaning more directly than do alphabetic or syllabic scripts, which are connected to the meaning completely via sound”.³⁴⁰ Since it is true for transliterations that “the string of characters that constitute a word does not make much sense when reference is made to the inherent meaning of the graphic forms”³⁴¹, it seems that these kind of neologisms do not belong in the Chinese language. There are several factors that contest this point of view. First, the semantic content of characters is not always unambiguous, even in indigenous Chinese morphemes. Many characters possess more than one meaning (and sound) that are not in the least related.³⁴² Second, the problem of ‘semantically void characters’ is only valid at the written level of language. The most active and basic form of a language is its spoken form. That is really the ‘language of the people’, where changes find their roots. Combined with the fact that historically the majority of the people were illiterate, there are clear indications that written language

³³⁵ For example, nutrients are very difficult to describe.

³³⁶ Novotna (1967: 104), cited in Heffernan (2011: 480).

³³⁷ Chan & Kwok (1990: 19).

³³⁸ Hu (2001: 29).

³³⁹ Ping (1999: 105).

³⁴⁰ Hoosain (1991), cited by Ping (1999: 105).

³⁴¹ Ping (1999: 105).

³⁴² For example, 脏 *zàng* ‘internal organs’ versus 脏 *zāng* ‘dirty’, and 行 *xíng* ‘to go’ versus 行 *háng* ‘row’.

is of minor importance in comparison with spoken language. A third point to consider is that historically, it has always been very common for Chinese writers to make use of homophonous characters. While copying manuscripts, scribes often replaced the original character by one with the same pronunciation but a different meaning, as Meyer states: “[...] when producing a new copy, the scribe would not write the graph he saw but would write the sound he heard”.³⁴³ In order to work quickly, scribes would often replace characters by homophones because the stroke order of the latter was less complicated. This phenomenon shows that Chinese attach much importance to the sounds rather than to the inherent meaning of the characters. Until now, in informal situations, Chinese often use homophones to substitute characters that are difficult to write. This third consideration clearly demonstrates the importance of orality in Chinese, and contests the statement that the use of semantically accurate characters would be of paramount importance in Mandarin Chinese.

A last point of criticism against phonetic borrowings is related to language purism. The frequent use of transliterations is by purists considered as ‘spoiling’ the Chinese language. Already on a symposium on the Standardisation of Modern Chinese in Beijing in the 1950s, the overall consensus was that semantic translation should be preferred over transliteration, because this corresponds better to the Chinese culture. As the Chinese linguist Wang Li put it: “Semantic (rather than phonetic) translation reflects the national self-esteem of the Chinese speaking people”.³⁴⁴ Furthermore, the use of phonetic borrowings would also cause the emergence of a ‘gap’ between the less educated population who are not familiar with foreign languages like English, and the higher educated, who are often rather fluent in English and can easily understand and use transliterations.³⁴⁵

3.4.2. The pros and contras of semantic borrowing

The contras of transliterations define the strengths of semantic loans. Semantic borrowings do not comprise a discrepancy between the semantics of the loanword and the meanings of the individual characters (morphemes). They contain a much higher degree of ‘naturalization’, and fit perfectly into the Chinese language system. Their foreign nature is sometimes indistinguishable and therefore, they are in accordance with the requirements of language purists.

³⁴³ Meyer (2012: 150), cited by Burdorf (2015: 10). The homophonous characters cannot be seen in the official versions today, since they have been edited and replaced by their original correspondent. Notice that this phenomenon of homophonous characters demonstrates that Chinese showed tendencies of evolving into a phonetic writing system. The fact that this did not happen has often been ascribed to the dominance of the classical texts and the resistance of the officials against the removal of the character script. See Burdorf, Suzanne *PhD proposal (not published)* (2015: 9-10).

³⁴⁴ Wang (1954: 13-19), cited in Ping (1999:111).

³⁴⁵ Kang (1999: 47).

We already mentioned potential disadvantages of semantic loans in the historical part (2.1. *The first large-scale translations projects*). Semantic loans can suggest that there is no difference between the historical meaning and the semantics of the neologism that came into existence under foreign influence. These loanwords are often culturally specific terms that refer to a different concept, or contain a different connotation.³⁴⁶ It is unsure whether this ‘shift of meaning’ is fully understood by the Chinese people. For example, the translation of ‘tragedy’ as *bēijù* 悲劇 (‘sad drama’) is confusing since these two refer to different things depending on whether they are used in a Western or Chinese context. The semantic translation can erroneously give the impression that a ‘tragedy’ is the same as a *bēijù*.³⁴⁷

3.4.3. Discussion

Several scholars assume that pure phonetic loans are rather short-lived.³⁴⁸ A foreign term may initially be introduced in Chinese by means of transliteration due to a lack of time, or due to an insufficient understanding of the English source word. Nevertheless, with the passing of time, one will coin a semantic loan, which will eventually replace the initial transliteration.³⁴⁹ As Yan Chen puts it “transliterations are prone to semanticization”³⁵⁰, since Chinese prefer an alternative where “each character makes sense”³⁵¹. Chan & Kwok similarly state that there is a strong preference for semantic loans: “The general opinion seems to be that if a translation equivalent is easily available and does not entail elaborate circumlocution, this translation is to be preferred because it has the advantage over phonetic loans of being meaningful”.³⁵² Scholars often refer to historical evidence to prove this theory.³⁵³ Frequently quoted examples of terms which were initially transliterated, but after time replaced by a semantic loan are given below.

³⁴⁶ Hu & Xu (2003: 310-311).

³⁴⁷ Hu (2004: 35). ‘Tragedy’: “(1) a very sad event or situation, especially one that involves death, (2) a serious play with a sad ending, especially one in which the main character dies; plays of this type” (Oxford Learner’s Dictionary). *Bēijù* often simply refers to a theatrical play. Notice that this not only the case for semantic borrowings. Li gives the example of ‘angel’, transliterated in Chinese as *ānqí’ér* 安琪儿. The interpretation of ‘a messenger from heaven’ is retained in Chinese, but the extended meaning of ‘someone who acts like an angel’ is not adopted. See Li (2003: 119). The same is true for the phonetic loan *kù* 酷 which carries the meanings of ‘cold’, ‘unfriendly’, ‘calm’ and ‘fashionable’ in English, while the Chinese loanword only retains ‘fashionable’. See Miao (2016: 573).

³⁴⁸ Miao (2016: 571).

³⁴⁹ Hu (2004: 37), Masini (1993: 136), Hu & Xu (2003: 311), Yang (2007: 43), Chen & Gao (2009: 91-92).

³⁵⁰ Yan (2013: 3).

³⁵¹ Ping (1999: 105).

³⁵² Chan & Kwok (1990: 20).

³⁵³ Heffernan (2011: 483). Novotna (1967: 103–18), referred to by Alleton (2001: 18).

English source word	Initial transliterated term	Semantic loan by which the transliteration got replaced
democracy ³⁵⁴	démókèlāxī 德谟克拉西	mínzhǔ 民主
telephone	délǜfēng 德律风	diànhuà 电话
parliament	bālimén 巴力门	yìhuì 议会
camera	kāimàilā 开麦拉	zhàoxiàngjī 照相机

Certain loanwords have both a phonetic and semantic borrowed form.³⁵⁵ Since languages normally behave economically, it is improbable that several terms for one and the same concept would coexist for a long time.³⁵⁶ Ping Chen writes: “As a rule, the situation in which functionally undifferentiated terms for the same referent coexist in the same language community will not last long”.³⁵⁷ It is likely that one term will eventually survive the others. According to Ping Chen, this ‘competition of loans’ is characterized by two tendencies: First, loan translations and semantic translations are preferred over transliterations. Second, the form that is used in Northern Mandarin Chinese will be competitive over variants from other dialect regions.³⁵⁸ We verified the first statement for a limited amount of loanwords.³⁵⁹ This study was conducted as follows: we looked up the two variants in two dictionaries, and subsequently checked how many results we found in the online search engine Baidu. The full results of this study can be found in attachment III. Contrary to what Ping Chen and other scholars claim, the findings of our small study are not definite. In some cases the semantic translation seems to be more popular in use, but in as many cases, the transliterated form is preferred.

This shows – notwithstanding many scholars believe semantic translations to be the better option – that in some cases there are compelling reasons to opt for transliteration. We already mentioned that phonetic borrowing (1) is a fast solution in rapidly changing times, (2) can be a good option for the translation of certain culturally bound terms, and (3) is a concise alternative for a long descriptive term. Transliterations are also used for (4) foreign proper names (see 3.6. *Proper names*). A last motivation to choose for phonetic instead of semantic borrowing, is socially determined: using a word which clearly originates

³⁵⁴ Examples from Chen & Gao (2009: 92) and Miao (2005: 38).

³⁵⁵ For example, ‘microphone’ *màikēfēng* 麦克风 (transliteration) versus *huàtǒng* 话筒 (semantic), ‘hormone’ *hè’ěrméng* 荷尔蒙 (transliteration) versus *jī sù* 激素 (semantic).

³⁵⁶ Yip (2000: 346).

³⁵⁷ Ping (1999: 105).

³⁵⁸ Ping (1999: 105).

³⁵⁹ The second statement about Standard Mandarin Chinese versus dialects was not re-examined since this is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

from a fashionable and high-status culture, can give a certain prestige to the speaker.³⁶⁰ As an example we mention the overall use of *bàibài* 拜拜 ('bye-bye'), nowadays used more frequently than the indigenous Chinese expression *zàijiàn* 再见.³⁶¹ We therefore designate (5) the popularity and prestige of English as final reason to opt for a phonetic loan.³⁶²

The survival of phonetically and semantically borrowed forms is in the end determined by public preference. Language change is a social conduct, where no definite conclusions can be made: "Social factors, not linguistic factors, primarily determine the choice between translation and transliteration".³⁶³ People prefer one or another option for various reasons.³⁶⁴ The statement that Chinese people mostly prefer words with semantic content might be true to a certain extent, but in certain cases, it can be more convenient to opt for a phonetic loan. In any case, phonetic as well as semantic borrowings both have their advantages and disadvantages.³⁶⁵ In what follows, we will discuss combinations of these two.

³⁶⁰ Tian (2012: 969), refers to Myers-Scotton (2006).

³⁶¹ Kang (1999: 46).

³⁶² This is especially the case in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Li also mentions the use of *yěsǐ* 也死 for 'yes' (instead of *shì* 是) and *kù* 酷 ('cool'). See Li (2003: 140).

³⁶³ Heffernan (2011: 487).

³⁶⁴ Heffernan argues that possible reasons are the prestige of a language, and "closeness to the West": In periods when China was (symbolically) far removed from the Western countries, Chinese preferred semantic translations, in order to differentiate themselves. See Heffernan (2011: 487).

³⁶⁵ Tian (2012: 969-970).

3.5. Combinations of phonetic and semantic borrowing

After discussing the characteristics and pros and cons of phonetic and semantic borrowings, we will now investigate loans that combine phonetic and semantic elements. There are three forms to be discussed. The first category concerns loanblends: a phonetic part (derived from the English source word) and a semantic part (a Chinese morpheme) are glued together. The second group are phono-semantic loans, which try to approximate the pronunciation of the source word, and at the same time select characters that match the semantics.³⁶⁶ This strategy is frequently used for foreign brand names. The third and last category that combines phonetic and semantic elements are newly created characters. These are commonly used in scientific environments, for example for chemical elements.

3.5.1. Loanblends

A loanblend (*bànyīnyì bànyìyì* 半音译半意译) is a type of borrowing where two components are blended together: a phonetic approximation of (a part of) the English source word and a Chinese morpheme. For example, the English word ‘teddy bear’ is translated as *tàidíxióng* 泰迪熊: *tàidí* being a transliteration of the English ‘teddy’, while ‘bear’ was translated semantically as *xióng* 熊. Some additional examples are given below.

English source word	Chinese loanblend	Phonetic part	Semantic part
credit card ³⁶⁷	xìnyòngkǎ 信用卡	kǎ 卡	xìnyòng 信用 credit
Downing Street (in London)	tángníngjiē 唐宁街	tángníng 唐宁	jiē 街 street
ice cream ³⁶⁸	bīngjīlíng 冰激凌	jīlíng 激凌	bīng 冰 ice
miniskirt ³⁶⁹	míníqún 迷你裙	míní 迷你	qún 裙 skirt
teddy bear	tàidíxióng 泰迪熊	tàidí 泰迪	xióng 熊 bear

The original English words are compounds in which one part gives an indication of the meaning (e.g. ‘credit’, ‘street’, ‘ice’, ‘skirt’, ‘bear’). In the borrowing process, the translator chose to translate this part semantically, while the other component was transliterated (e.g. card *kǎ*, downing *tángníng*, cream *bīngjī*, mini *míní*, teddy *tàidí*).³⁷⁰ Another type of loanblends are English single words to which a Chinese

³⁶⁶ Tian (2012: 594, 966).

³⁶⁷ Miao (2005: 69).

³⁶⁸ Li (2003: 83).

³⁶⁹ Yan (2013: 4).

³⁷⁰ Li (2003: 83).

semantic morpheme is added.³⁷¹ For example ‘beer’ is borrowed as *píjiǔ* 啤酒: a semantic part *jiǔ* 酒 (‘liquor’) is added to *pí* 啤 (phonetic approximation of ‘beer’). Additional examples are listed below.

English source word	Chinese loan blend	Transliteration	Added morpheme
bar ³⁷²	jiǔbā 酒吧	bā 吧	jiǔ 酒 alcohol
beer ³⁷³	píjiǔ 啤酒	pí 啤	jiǔ 酒 alcohol
card ³⁷⁴	kǎpiàn 卡片	kǎ 卡	piàn 片 thin piece
Islam	yīslánjiào 伊斯兰教	yīslán 伊斯兰	jiào 教 religion
mango ³⁷⁵	mángguǒ 芒果	máng 芒	guǒ 果 fruit
poker ³⁷⁶	pūkèpái 扑克牌	pūkè 扑克	pái 牌 card game
sardine ³⁷⁷	shādīngyú 沙丁鱼	shādīng 沙丁	yú 鱼 fish
sauna ³⁷⁸	sāngnà yù 桑拿浴	sāngnà 桑拿	yù 浴 bath
tango ³⁷⁹	tàngēwǔ 探戈舞	tàngē 探戈	wǔ 舞 dance

The difference with the first type of loanblends is that here the original source word does not contain an indication of its meaning. In the borrowing process, a Chinese morpheme is added to the transliteration in order to hint at the semantic meaning.³⁸⁰ The morpheme can give an indication about the referent, as is the case for *jiǔ* 酒 in ‘bar’ *jiǔbā* 酒吧 (refers to alcohol), and *piàn* 片 in ‘card’ *kǎpiàn* 卡片 (a thin piece). In many cases the Chinese part indicates the class to which the word belongs. It is then used as an ‘umbrella morpheme’ that connects a group of nouns of the same category. For the above mentioned examples, the following grouping morphemes can be distinguished (loanblends are indicated by **bold** letters):

³⁷¹ Zhou & Jiang (2004: 49), Huang & Liao (2002: 313-314).

³⁷² Li (2003: 130).

³⁷³ Zhou & Jiang (2004: 48).

³⁷⁴ T’sou (2001: 45).

³⁷⁵ Li (2003: 113).

³⁷⁶ Wang (2004: 48).

³⁷⁷ Shen (2009: 66).

³⁷⁸ Li (2006: 151).

³⁷⁹ Shen (2009: 66).

³⁸⁰ Li (2003: 84), Chen & Gao (2009: 93), Yip (2000: 335), Ping (1999: 103).

Umbrella morpheme	Category	Words
jiǔ 酒	alcoholic drink	‘beer’ <i>píjiǔ</i> 啤酒, ‘sorghum wine’ <i>báijiǔ</i> 白酒, ‘wine’ <i>pútaojiǔ</i> 葡萄酒, ‘champagne’ <i>xiāngbīnjiǔ</i> 香槟酒, ‘liquor’ <i>lìkǒujiǔ</i> 利口酒, ...
jiào 教	religion	‘Islam’ <i>yīslánjiào</i> 伊斯兰教, ‘Taoism’ <i>dàojiào</i> 道教, ‘Confucianism’ <i>rújiào</i> 儒教, ‘Christianity’ <i>jīdūjiào</i> 基督教, ‘Buddhism’ <i>fójiào</i> 佛教, ...
guǒ 果	fruit	‘mango’ <i>mángguǒ</i> 芒果, ‘kiwi fruit’ <i>qíyìguǒ</i> 奇异果, ‘apple’ <i>píngguǒ</i> 苹果, ...
pái 牌	card game	‘poker’ <i>pūkèpái</i> 扑克牌, ‘bridge’ <i>qiáopái</i> 桥牌, ...
yú 鱼	fish	‘sardine’ <i>shādīngyú</i> 沙丁鱼, ‘carp’ <i>lǐyú</i> 鲤鱼, ‘goldfish’ <i>jīnyú</i> 金鱼, ...
yù 浴	bath	‘sauna’ <i>sāngnànyù</i> 桑拿浴, ‘Turkish bath’ <i>tǔ’ěrqiyù</i> 土耳其浴, ‘bubble bath’ <i>pàopàoyù</i> 泡泡浴, ...
wǔ 舞	dance	‘tango’ <i>tàngēwǔ</i> 探戈舞, ‘cancan’ <i>kāngkāngwǔ</i> 康康舞, ‘quickstep’ <i>kuàibùwǔ</i> 快步舞, ‘ballet’ <i>bālěiwǔ</i> 芭蕾舞, ...

The position of the Chinese morpheme in the loanblend may vary (initial position or ending position), although it is mostly placed at the end of the word.³⁸¹ The presence of a Chinese morpheme hinting at meaning of the word facilitates the intelligibility of the loanword.³⁸² Chan & Kwok state that the manifestation of a semantic morpheme “makes the meaning more specific and eliminates ambiguity”.³⁸³ The semantic part makes it easier for Chinese readers to understand the loanword or at least allows to attain an indicative idea of its meaning.³⁸⁴ We already mentioned the semantic emptiness as major disadvantage of pure phonetic borrowings. The presence of a Chinese morpheme can solve this problem, as Zhou & Jiang write: “Chinese people tend to reject meaningless phonemic borrowings, many of which have been replaced by alternatives with meanings [...] When there is no way out, and a word has to be borrowed phonemically, they add something to it, which allows people to know what the object is or looks like”.³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ Yan (2013: 3).

³⁸² Ping (1999: 103).

³⁸³ Chan & Kwok (1990: 21).

³⁸⁴ Huang & Liao (2002: 313-314).

³⁸⁵ Zhou & Jiang (2004: 48).

3.5.2. Phono-semantic borrowing

3.5.2.1. Characteristics and the preference for phono-semantic borrowing

A phono-semantic loan approximates the English sounds, while characters are selected which match the semantics of the source word.³⁸⁶ As a result, a perfect assembly of sound and meaning is created. The selection of semantically matching morphemes is possible because of the abundance of homophones in Modern Chinese.³⁸⁷ Some examples of phono-semantic loans are listed below.

English source word	Chinese phono-semantic loan	Meaning of the morphemes
sonar ³⁸⁸	shēngnà 声纳	sound + receive
shampoo ³⁸⁹	xiāngbō 香波	sweet-smelling + wave
bungee jumping ³⁹⁰	bèngjí 蹦极	jump + extremity
hacker ³⁹¹	hēikè 黑客	dark/wicked + visitor
media ³⁹²	méitǐ 媒体	intermediary + system
vitamin ³⁹³	wéitāmìng 维他命	safeguard + personal pronoun + life

Notice that the Chinese loans are not literal translations of the source term.³⁹⁴ Rather they give an indication of the semantic meaning, as Chen states: “While matching the sound of the original word as in transliteration, the combination of the characters also has its own semantic meaning that is intended to be indicative of the semantic content of the foreign word”.³⁹⁵ For example, the phono-semantic translation for a ‘hacker’ is ‘a wicked visitor’ (*hēikè* 黑客). This does not give the reader any concrete information about the meaning of the term as “a person who circumvents security and breaks into a network, computer, file, etc., usually with malicious intent”³⁹⁶, the loanword rather gives an imprecise suggestion.

³⁸⁶ Tian (2012: 594, 966). Yip (2000: 334). Sometimes referred to as ‘hybrids’. See T’sou (2001: 46). We deliberately chose not to employ the term hybrids, because this might cause confusion with the category of loanblends, which actually are ‘hybrid forms’ as well.

³⁸⁷ The term ‘phono-semantic matching’ was coined by Zuckermann. See Zuckermann (2003), cited in Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 125).

³⁸⁸ Yan (2013: 3).

³⁸⁹ Yan (2013: 3).

³⁹⁰ Wang (2004: 48).

³⁹¹ Zhou & Jiang (2004: 48).

³⁹² Hu (2001: 30).

³⁹³ Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 120).

³⁹⁴ Chen (2011: 32).

³⁹⁵ Ping (1999: 104), Chen & Gao (2009: 93).

³⁹⁶ Oxford Learner’s Dictionary.

Many scholars argue that phono-semantic matching is the best option to borrow foreign terms.³⁹⁷ Mentioned advantages are (1) The semantic void of transliterations is eliminated; (2) While preserving (or at least approximating) the foreign sounds, (an indication of) the meaning is visible in one glance; (3) Potential misunderstandings linked with pure semantic translations are avoided.³⁹⁸ Linguistically, scholars argue that phono-semantic matching is feasible, since the Chinese language is full of homophones. As a syllable corresponds to several characters, there are plentiful options to find a matching semantic meaning for each syllable.³⁹⁹ Chinese scholars sometimes seem to be very passionate in favouring phono-semantic borrowings. For example, Hu Qingping talks about a “perfect translation”, which consists of the perfect union between meaning, sound and form.⁴⁰⁰ Peter Hu goes even further and declares: “In addition, semantic transliteration symbolizes the broadmindedness of the Chinese nation in terms of absorbing alien cultures, a courtesy that is rewarded by Western nations. All in all, I hope that from now on we will make use of the strong points of Chinese in the process of globalization and create more and more loanwords through semantic transliteration”.⁴⁰¹

Summarizing, phono-semantic borrowings seem to be gladly welcomed by Chinese speakers, as the outcome is often creative and meaningful. Myers-Scotton puts it like this: “Speakers try to find Chinese characters that stand for a similar reference to the borrowed words. But speakers also want the characters to sound like the borrowed word. They end up with some very imaginative ways of accommodating a borrowed word”.⁴⁰² Therefore, phono-semantic borrowings are very popular for the translation of brand names.⁴⁰³

3.5.2.2. *Brand names*

In times of globalization, big corporations focus more and more on the ‘international market place’. Company directors and marketers are attentive to the fact that their promotional campaigns need to be adjusted when entering a new foreign market. Different cultures come with different manners and habits, hence companies need to adapt their marketing mix to each country, in order to cope with cultural differences.⁴⁰⁴ This phenomenon is called ‘localisation’: the modification of market behaviour according to the country or region.⁴⁰⁵ The brand name is an important marketing tool for companies. When an

³⁹⁷ Hu & Xu (2003: 311).

³⁹⁸ Hu (2004: 38).

³⁹⁹ Hu (2001: 29-30), Hu & Xu (2003: 321-322), Hu (2004: 38).

⁴⁰⁰ Hu (2001: 31).

⁴⁰¹ Hu (2004: 39).

⁴⁰² Myers-Scotton (2006), cited in Tian (2012: 966).

⁴⁰³ T’sou (2001: 47), Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 594).

⁴⁰⁴ Wang (2012: 1948), Li & Shooshtari (2003: 3).

⁴⁰⁵ Chan (1997: 135-136).

international corporation enters the Chinese market place, marketers will try to find an accurate and nice translation for their brand name, adapted to the Chinese culture. We will discuss this kind of translations in this chapter.

Picking a brand name is a marketing decision and is closely related to sociolinguistics, as Li & Shooshtari state: “Language use symbolically represents fundamental dimensions of social behaviour and human interaction”.⁴⁰⁶ Sales people examine and make assumptions on how consumers will react to (the name of) their product, and compose checklists for a good brand name. Attachment IV summarizes essential characteristics of a good brand name.⁴⁰⁷ Marketers in the USA try to choose a brand name that complies with “four easies”⁴⁰⁸: (1) Easy to say; (2) Easy to spell. A good brand name should be spelt simply, since it has to be suitable for all levels of society; (3) Easy to read. It should be recognized easily, as consumers make rapid decisions;⁴⁰⁹ And (4) easy to remember.⁴¹⁰ Moreover, marketers select a brand name that says something about the product (category) and evokes pleasant associations.⁴¹¹ After all, a good brand name “can enhance brand awareness and/or help create a favourable brand image”.⁴¹²

International companies mostly choose to adapt their brand name according to the region, a strategy known as “localisation”.⁴¹³ When entering the Chinese market, companies will attempt to find a good translation (a loanword) for their brand name. Marketers seldom opt to solely preserve their alphabetic brand name in China. Companies are aware of the fact that a large part of the (less educated) Chinese population has difficulties reading and writing alphabetical letters, and pronouncing English syllables.⁴¹⁴ Furthermore, well-chosen characters can transfer extra semantic meaning to the customers.

In previous chapters, we already discussed the Chinese preference for words (and brand names) which contain semantic content. Schmitt, Pan & Tavasolli state that semantics are perceived as more important in logographic languages than in alphabetic languages, while in the latter, the pronunciation is a crucial factor.⁴¹⁵ Furthermore, scholars point out to the importance of a word being ‘*hǎotīng*’: a word that sounds good. According to Fleming & Zuckermann:

⁴⁰⁶ Li & Shooshtari (2003: 6, 13).

⁴⁰⁷ Cited in Chan & Huang (1997: 228).

⁴⁰⁸ Li & Shooshtari (2003: 14).

⁴⁰⁹ Keller et al. (1998: 49).

⁴¹⁰ Keller (1993: 9), Li & Shooshtari (2003: 6).

⁴¹¹ Keller (1993: 10).

⁴¹² Keller et al. (1998: 48).

⁴¹³ Zhang & Schmitt (2001: 313), Li & Shooshtari (2003: 3).

⁴¹⁴ Schmitt et al. (1994: 422).

⁴¹⁵ Schmitt et al. (1994: 421), Li & Shoostari (2003: 17).

“The notion of *hǎotīng* 好听 [...] means that the word ‘sounds good’ to the Chinese ear. It is an unqualifiable concept judged by a native speaker based on the interrelation of various linguistic factors such as flow, balance of syllables and pronounceability, whilst also taking into account how well the characters work together semantically. The importance of *hǎotīng* when considering names and other words highlights the connection between phonetics and semantics in the mind of a Chinese speaker”.⁴¹⁶

A good option that combines both requirements (semantic content and being *hǎotīng*), is phono-semantic borrowing. Marketers select characters whose sounds approximate the original pronunciation of the brand name, and which are at the same time linked with the product content. As pointed out before, many Chinese seem to favour phono-semantic borrowing. A good combination of sound and meaning causes a “maximal pleasant association” for the reader.⁴¹⁷ Zhang & Schmitt point out advantages of phono-semantic translations: “The common view is that the phono-semantic approach is superior to sound or meaning alone, because the local brand name resulting from such an approach, within certain constraints, both sounds like the foreign name and enables the marketer to communicate essential brand or product-category characteristics”.⁴¹⁸

We already noted that the selected characters are by no means a literal translation of the source term, rather an indication of the semantics. Marketers will try to select characters which evoke pleasant associations, linked to the product.⁴¹⁹ A well-meditated brand name, that induces enjoyable associations, can lead to consumers who are more easily inclined to remember and buy the product.⁴²⁰ Furthermore, examples show that marketers choose rather simple, frequently used characters. According to Li & Shooshtari “unpretentious and down-to-earth Chinese characters”.⁴²¹ This matches with the requirement that a good brand name should be easy to spell and easy to understand.

Some examples of localized brand names with pleasant associations are listed below.⁴²²

⁴¹⁶ Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 120-121).

⁴¹⁷ Yip (2000: 335).

⁴¹⁸ Zhang & Schmitt (2001: 315).

⁴¹⁹ Wang (2012: 1945), Li & Shooshtari (2003: 6), Chen (2011: 32).

⁴²⁰ Keller et al. (1998: 49).

⁴²¹ Li & Shooshtari (2003: 14).

⁴²² Notice that it is more difficult for a Chinese brand to find a suitable Western name when entering the (for example American) market. A phonetic copy of the original brand name can lead to the loss of semantic content, while a semantic translation will not have the slightest link with its Chinese pronunciation. Li & Shooshtari mention the example of the Chinese soft drink company *Jiànlìbǎo* 健力宝: the brand name contains beautiful connotations as ‘health and vigour’, ‘power and strength’, and ‘a precious treasure’. It entered the American market simply as ‘Jianlibao’ and turned out to be rather unsuccessful. See Li & Shoostari (2003: 16-17).

English brand name		Chinese phono-semantic form	Meaning
Coca-Cola ⁴²³	soft drink	Kěkǒukělè 可口可乐	tasty – amusing
Mercedes-Benz	cars	Bēnchí 奔驰	run quickly, gallop
Pepsi Cola	soft drink	Bǎishìkělè 百事可乐	hundreds of happy things
Dove ⁴²⁴	toiletries	Duōfēn 多芬	many – sweet fragrance
Nike ⁴²⁵	sportswear	Nàikè 耐克	enduring, durable
Simmons ⁴²⁶	mattresses	Xímèngsī 席梦思	mat – dream – contemplate
Carrefour	supermarket	Jiālèfú 家乐福	family – cheerful - happiness

Notice that most of the original brand names do not carry special content, while the translated forms take on a desirable or accommodating meaning related to the product.⁴²⁷

Even though phono-semantic loans seem to be a popular and effective means in advertising, not all brand names were translated by means of phono-semantic borrowing.⁴²⁸ Some companies opted for pure semantic or phonetic borrowing. Some examples of pure semantic borrowing are ‘Microsoft’ *Wēiruǎn* 微软 and ‘Apple’ *Píngguǒ* 苹果. Examples of pure phonetic borrowing are ‘Lipton’ *Lìdùn* 立顿 and ‘Adidas’ *Ādídásī* 阿迪达斯.⁴²⁹ Future studies could test whether one and the same product is less or more popular amongst customers depending on whether the brand name is a phono-semantic borrowing with pleasant associations or not.

3.5.3. The creation of new characters

A third and final option to combine phonetic and semantic content is the creation of a new character. Generally, there are several kinds of Chinese characters. The category we discuss here are *xíngshēng*

⁴²³ The English brand name actually refers to ingredients of the soft drink Coca-Cola: kola nuts and coca leaves. When the brand was first introduced in China in the 1920s, the company opted for the transliteration *kēdǒu kěn là* 蝌蚪啃蜡 (‘tadpole biting the wax’). This brand name was not successful and got replaced by the phono-semantic form *kěkǒukělè* 可口可乐. See Zhou & Jiang (2004: 47).

⁴²⁴ Kang (2013: 115).

⁴²⁵ Wang (2012: 1948).

⁴²⁶ Zhao (2006: 40).

⁴²⁷ Zhao (2006: 40).

⁴²⁸ Yan (2013: 4).

⁴²⁹ Zhang & Schmitt (2001: 315), Kang (2013: 114).

形声 characters, which are composed of a phonetic part and a semantic radical.⁴³⁰ The phonetic part hints at the pronunciation, while the semantic part suggests something about the meaning.⁴³¹ The historical origins of this type of character building can be understood as follows: when the need occurred to create a character for a new word, they often made use of a character with the same pronunciation that already existed. The Chinese then pasted a semantic part and a phonetic indicator together to build a new character.⁴³² This technique has been used frequently for the creation of new terms. The result is that for many Chinese characters, a hint of meaning and sound can be deduced visually.⁴³³

It is this typically Chinese method of coining new characters, that can also be used for the translation of foreign terms.⁴³⁴ Although this technique is very Chinese, we note that the creation of new characters is not very common as a borrowing method in recent times.⁴³⁵ In the past, it has been applied systematically for the borrowing of scientific terms, such as chemical elements.⁴³⁶ Some examples are listed below.

English source word	Chinese loanword	Semantic radical	Phonetic part
silicon	xī 矽	石 stone	xī 夕
ammonia	ān 氨	气 gas	ān 安
radium ⁴³⁷	léi 镭	金 metal	léi 雷
uranium ⁴³⁸	yóu 铀	金 metal	yóu 由

⁴³⁰ Chan & Kwok (1990: 37). Also referred to as ‘pictophonetic characters’. See Norman (1988: 74).

⁴³¹ Yan (2013: 3), Hannas (1997: 254), Shen & Ke (2007: 98), Li (2003: 82).

⁴³² Hannas (1997: 116).

⁴³³ The phonetics are not perfectly reliable, as a result of historical changes in the pronunciation: “Owing to the historical evolution of Chinese phonology, in modern Chinese, only 26 percent of the phonetic radicals can be considered reliable cues to pronunciation – even ignoring tonal differences. [...] The reliability of semantic radicals cueing the meaning of compound characters is much higher than phonetic radicals cueing the pronunciation of compound characters.” See Shen & Ke (2007: 98). “The information contained in the phonetic component is often not an accurate pronunciation of the host character for various reasons, even if it did so at earlier time”. For example, 江 is pronounced *jiāng* instead of the expected pronunciation *gong* as a result of palatalization. See Wang & Sun (2015: 3).

⁴³⁴ Li (2003: 82).

⁴³⁵ Hannas (1997: 254-255).

⁴³⁶ Li (2003: 82), Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 586).

⁴³⁷ Chan & Kwok (1990: 38).

⁴³⁸ Hannas (1997: 254).

3.6. Proper names

In this brief chapter we will discuss a specific case of loanwords, that is the borrowing of proper names. This involves both personal and place names (toponyms). Surprisingly, not much attention is paid to this topic. As research falls short, we tried to examine the use of proper names ourselves, and make some remarks and conclusions to this topic. Personal names seem to be in accordance with the principles of pure phonetic borrowing. As regards place names, we perceive more variation in borrowing techniques.

3.6.1. Personal names

The translation of foreign personal names into Chinese follows the principles of phonetic borrowing. This means that the closest Chinese correspondent of the original sound is selected.⁴³⁹ For example ‘Mark’ *Mǎkè* 马克, ‘Anna’ *Ānnà* 安娜, ‘Ruth’ *Lùdé* 路得, etc. Already in the 1950s, the Office for Name Translation of the Xinhua News Agency started compiling handbooks for the transliteration of foreign names into Chinese.⁴⁴⁰ In 1993 they published the dictionary ‘Names of the World’s Peoples – A Comprehensive Dictionary of Names in Roman-Chinese’.⁴⁴¹ The Agency prescribed that a name should always be transliterated with the same characters, and additionally, that common and frequently used characters should be selected.⁴⁴² The latter is in conflict with the normal behaviour of the Chinese. Generally speaking, when Chinese people pick a name for their child, they will always search for a name which is *hǎotīng*, and additionally try to select characters that carry a hopeful and auspicious meaning, like particular qualities or aspirations of the parents.⁴⁴³ From this cultural habit, one could expect the same principle to be applied for the translation of foreign names, that is by phono-semantic matching – as is the case for several brand names.

Since there is only limited material dealing with personal names available, we conducted a minor study. We checked for twenty famous people how their name was translated into Chinese, with attention to phonological adaptations and character choice. These people can be divided into five categories: popular culture, business, science, politics, and ‘creative people’. Before this examination was conducted, we expected to find one of these two options: A. Following the rules of the Agency, the names should be

⁴³⁹ Hannas (1997: 116).

⁴⁴⁰ Qu & Li (2015: 537).

⁴⁴¹ The dictionary covers 650.000 names, from 55 languages. See Xinhua News Agency Proper Names and Translation Service (1993), referred to by Yan (2013: 5) and Ping (1999: 111).

⁴⁴² Yang (2007: 230).

⁴⁴³ For example, ‘pretty’ *lǐ* 丽 or ‘great’ *wěi* 伟. See Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 121).

translated unambiguously, with the same characters, carrying no special semantic meaning. Or, B. Cases of phono-semantic matching, which would be corresponding with the Chinese cultural habits.

The complete results can be found in attachment V. Even from this very limited examination, we can point out some general conclusions and trends in the translation of personal names. Firstly, all examined names are transliterated following the principles of phonetic borrowing as discussed in 3.2. *Phonetic borrowing*. This also means that possible semantic content in the original names are omitted. For example, the last name ‘Gates’ was not translated semantically. Secondly, most of the examined names are made up of very common characters that do not carry special meaning. Only in the minority of names (six out of twenty), we noticed a character with a pleasant complimentary meaning. Thirdly, the translated personal names are rather long: the first name mostly consists of two or three characters, plus a three-character long surname in many cases. This differs a lot from common Chinese names which consist of only three characters (one for a surname, two for the first name).⁴⁴⁴ These long strings of characters do not seem to fit nicely into a Chinese text. To indicate their nature as personal names, a dot (°) is inserted between the first and last name. The fourth and last remark is that, although some frequently seen personal names do have a standard Chinese transliteration (e.g. Mary *Mǎlì* 玛丽, George *Qiáozhì* 乔治, Marc *Mǎkè* 马克, etc.), we also perceive a lot of arbitrage and divergence. For diverse names, we found several possible transliterations, spelt with different characters. Even for a well-known name as Disney (Disneyland) there does not seem to be a general consensus on how to spell this name. This can cause much confusion. It again points out one of the major problems with phonetic borrowings, that is the disunity in selecting characters.

We can conclude that there are no real conventions for the translation of personal names: disunity in the use of pure phonetic borrowing or phono-semantic matching, and disunity in the selection of characters.⁴⁴⁵ Although the rules proposed by the Xinhua News Agency seemed to be accepted at first, Yan Chen states that recently the authority of the Agency is challenged by deviant transliterations, by mass media institutions and online.⁴⁴⁶ Besides translators’ inconsistencies, dialect pronunciations can also cause variation in the translation of proper names.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ Chinese language teachers who make up names for foreign students do not follow the pattern we describe here, but have their own way of giving names. First, they select one character as a last name, which approximately sounds like the student’s original last name. Second, they choose two characters as a first name, similar to the original first name. If possible, they select morphemes that match the student’s characteristics. This method comes very close to the indigenous Chinese way of giving names to children.

⁴⁴⁵ Guo (2001: 184).

⁴⁴⁶ Yan (2013: 5), Ping (1999: 111).

⁴⁴⁷ Qu & Li (2015: 532), Yang (2007: 231-234).

3.6.2. Place names

Even though the National Commission of Geographical Names (*Zhōngguó Dì míng Wěi yuán huì* 中国地名委员会) was founded in 1977, there is much variation in the translation of place names: pure semantic, as well as pure phonetic, loanblends and phono-semantic borrowings are used.⁴⁴⁸

Certain place names, especially geographical names, carry meaning in their original form. In general, these names are translated by means of pure semantic borrowing. For example, ‘the Mediterranean Sea’ *Dìzhōnghǎi* 地中海, ‘Cape of Good Hope’ *Hǎowàng Jiǎo* 好望角 and ‘Oxford’ *Niújīn* 牛津.⁴⁴⁹ When the original term does not carry semantic content, rudimentary characters are used to form a phonetic borrowing. This is the case for, amongst many others, ‘Pakistan’ *Bājīstān* 巴基斯坦 and ‘Paris’ *Bālí* 巴黎.⁴⁵⁰ Place names that are a combination of a proper name and a content word, are translated by phonetic and semantic borrowing respectively, e.g. ‘Aegean Sea’ *Àiqín Hǎi* 爱琴海. However, these rules are not strictly practiced as can be seen in the translation of ‘New Jersey’ *Xīnzéxī* 新泽西 (loanblend) versus that of ‘New York’ *Niūyuē* 纽约 (pure transliteration).⁴⁵¹

There are also country or city names for which phono-semantic matching is used. In the borrowing process, appropriate or beautiful characters are selected.⁴⁵² In some cases, this can be a political gesture, as is the case for the ‘heroic’ ‘England’ *Yīngguó* 英国, the ‘beautiful’ ‘America’ *Měiguó* 美国, and the ‘virtuous’ ‘Germany’ *Déguó* 德国. Phono-semantic matching for place names can in some cases be appear as discriminating. What for example to think of the rather derogative translation for ‘Africa’ as *Fēizhōu* 非洲 (‘wrongdoing continent’)?⁴⁵³ This is why Ping Chen believes that all proper names should be transliterated by characters that do not convey certain meanings.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁴⁸ The Commission prescribes the use of transliterations for the translation of personal names, but makes mention of the following ‘exceptions’ in which case a semantic translation can be used: (1) People are already used to the semantic translation. (2) The nature as geographical place is obvious. (3) The transliterated form is very long. (4) The name contains numbers or dates. All these exceptions naturally give rise to disunity. See Chen (1990: 92-93).

⁴⁴⁹ Yip (2000: 334), Chen (1990: 93).

⁴⁵⁰ Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 120).

⁴⁵¹ Chen (1990: 94).

⁴⁵² Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 120).

⁴⁵³ Qu & Li (2015: 539).

⁴⁵⁴ Ping (1999: 111).

3.7. Research: English loanwords in contemporary Chinese newspapers and magazines

3.7.1. Outline

We investigated fifteen articles recently published in newspapers and magazines in Mainland China, and tried to detect English loanwords. We selected items on a variety of topics and with different target audiences. The following articles were chosen:

1) China Comment magazine (*Bànyuètán* 半月谈), which is part of Xinhua News Agency, the official press agency of the Chinese Communist Party.

* Article on the social pressure on university students.

2) ELLE China, Chinese branch of the French fashion magazine.

* Article on the film festival in Cannes (France).

3) ELLE China.

* Article on fashionable clothing for small women.

4) Guangming Daily (*Guāngmíng Rìbào* 光明日报), newspaper published by Xinhua News Agency.

* Article on immigrant workers in Malaysia.

5) Beijing Suburbs Daily (*Jīngjiāo Rìbào* 京郊日报), regional newspaper published in Beijing.

* Article on achieving an agreement on environmental standards in China.

6) Love-Marriage-Family (*Liàn'ài Hūnyīn Jiātíng* 恋爱婚姻家庭), magazine with topics related to married life and family life.

* Article on anti-radiation clothing for pregnant women.

7) People's Daily (*Rénmín Rìbào* 人民日报), the number one newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party.

* Article on Chinese film festival.

8) People's Daily.

* Article on the politics of president Xi Jinping.

9) People's Daily.

* Financial article on the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

10) New Weekly (*Xīn Zhōukān* 新周刊), weekly magazine on various topics in present-day China.

* Article on how to recognize a certain car (SUV).

11) Music Weekly (*Yīnyuè Zhōubào* 音乐周报), magazine on music, dance and entertainment in China.

* Article on Chinese opera festival.

12) Chinese Science and Technology Online (*Zhōngguó Kējì Wǎng* 中国科技网), under the direction of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (*Zhōngguó Kēxuéyuán* 中国科学院), publishes scientific research.

* Article on a NASA-satellite.

13) Chinese Science and Technology Online.

* Article on the launching of a satellite in China.

14) China Youth Online (*Zhōngqīng Zàixiàn* 中青在线), the official newspaper of the Communist Youth League.

* Article on the meeting of president Xi Jinping with the American president Donald Trump.

15) Chinese Workers Online (*Zhōnggōngwǎng* 中工网), a newspaper linked to various trade unions.

* Article on the relationship of China with South Africa.

The articles, in which the detected loanwords are marked, and a full commentary can be found in attachment VI.

3.7.2. Findings

In the fifteen studies articles, we found the following loanwords:

Type	Quantity
transliterations	3
zero translations	32
semantic / free translations	14
loan translations	7
loanblends	2
phono-semantic matching	2
proper names	60

Even though our research was very limited, it demonstrated that alphabetic letters are prominent in Chinese newspapers and magazines. We encountered zero translations in twelve of the fifteen articles. All subtypes of zero translations are present: acronyms (e.g. ‘PM’ ‘particulate matter’, ‘3D’ ‘three-dimensional’), alphabetic letters plus Chinese morpheme (e.g. UGC-*yǐngyuàn* UGC 影院 ‘UGC-cinema’), and in rare cases even a full transplanted of the original English word (e.g. ‘sports’, ‘Gucci’). Alphabetic letters and words are often used in articles on technological topics. This is in line with our previous findings. Modern technology and science develop very quickly, which leads to an enormous influx of words on these topics. Chinese often do not have the time to (or forsake to) produce a suitable (semantic) translation, and therefore simply copy the English word in its original form. Another hypothesis brought forth in the previous chapters, is that the use of English words can be explained by the rising popularity of the English language and culture, especially among youngsters. Our research supports this theory: especially magazines on more trivial topics, who aim at young women as their target audience, prominently make use of English words. *Elle China*, the Chinese branch of the international fashion magazine *Elle*, does not even make the effort to transliterate Western personal names or brand names, but simply uses their alphabetic spelling. This is much less the case for newspapers and magazines on more serious (national) content, especially when they have bonds with the Chinese Communist Party.

Regarding other types of loanwords, we notice that transliterations are merely used for personal names. Besides these, we encountered *māmāmen* 妈咪们 (‘mothers’) as a phonetic loan, derived from the English ‘mommy’. The Chinese morpheme *men* 们 is added to the transliterated form in order to indicate plural. Furthermore, the phono-semantic borrowing *méiti* 媒体 (‘media’) was found several times, and one time the *méi* 媒 was used in a new compound: *chuánméi* 传媒 (‘communication media’). We spotted *límǐ* 厘米 (‘centimetre’) as a loanblend, which is partly a semantic translation, partly a phonetic loan. Semantic translations are much more difficult to detect, since it is not always clear to which language the borrowing can be traced back. This is especially the case for free translations. However, it is very probable that words such as *hóng(dì)tǎn* 红(地)毯 (‘red carpet’) and *wēibōlú* 微波炉 (‘microwave oven’) originate from English (or another European language). We also noticed *Jīnzōnglǔ Jiǎng* 金棕榈奖 as a translation for ‘Palme d’Or’ (award at the Cannes film festival). This loan can be categorized as a loan translation accommodated with a Chinese morpheme which indicates the category (*jiǎng* 奖 ‘award’).

Proper names were already discussed and investigated in 3.6. *Personal names*. Therefore, we limit our findings on proper names to a brief overview:

- Personal names are transliterated (except in one Elle China-article in which zero translation is used), meaningful characters are used in a minority of the cases.
- Concerning names of organisations and associations (e.g. IMF, NASA), sometimes the English abbreviation is used, sometimes the Chinese semantic translation (e.g. *Guóji Huòbì Jījīn Zǔzhī* 国际货币基金组织 and *Měiguó Yùhángjú* 美国宇航局 respectively). Notice the remarkable translation of ‘BRICS’ as *Jīnzhūān* 金砖: in English, this word is an acronym for five emerging nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South-Africa), while the Chinese loan *Jīnzhūān* 金砖 is a translation of ‘gold brick’.
- For place names, the general tendency seems to be that when the original term contains meaningful content, it gets translated semantically. Otherwise the place name is transliterated. However, all possible forms of loanwords are encountered for place names: pure phonetic translations (e.g. ‘Hollywood’ *Hǎoláiwù* 好莱坞), semantic translations (e.g. ‘West Palm Beach’ *Xī Zōnglú Tān* 西棕榈滩), loanblends (category added) (e.g. ‘Florida’ 佛罗里达州 *Fóluólǐdázhōu*) and loanblends (partly semantic-partly phonetic) (e.g. Avenue des Champs-Élysées (Fr.) *Xiāngxièlìshè Dàjiē* 香榭丽舍大街 – notice the choice of auspicious characters).

Our small field study confirms the theories of the previous chapters. Zero translations are often encountered in Mainland China without any guiding explanation in Chinese, especially on technological topics and in popular magazines. Even though our study was very limited, we detected all the previously discussed types of loanwords. Arguably many more semantic translations (and loan translations) were included in the articles, but their etymology is rather difficult to verify. Concerning proper names, we believe that more unification is recommended in order to avoid misunderstandings. As Qu & Li state: “The chaotic translation of personal and place names in publications are calling for the standardisation and unification by authoritative dictionaries of personal and place names”.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁵ Qu & Li (2015: 555).

4. Influence from Cantonese and other dialects

In the previous chapters we focused on the integration of English loanwords in Standard Mandarin Chinese. In this part, we briefly investigate the influence of dialects concerning English borrowings. China is characterized by an enormous linguistic variation. In the written language there exists a high level of unity, since Mandarin Chinese is used as the official standard language. Putonghua is also brought forth as the standard for spoken language, but there are many regional dialects in China. Most scholars mention seven main dialects: Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, Gan, Kejia (Hakka), Yue (Cantonese), and Min.⁴⁵⁶ Some linguists argue that the Chinese dialects should be considered as different languages rather than dialects, since most of them are mutually unintelligible.⁴⁵⁷ However, for convenience, we will use the term “dialects” in this thesis.

Cantonese is, after the Northern Mandarin Standard variety, the dialect that accounts for the most speakers.⁴⁵⁸ It is spoken in Guangdong, Guangxi and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Both in the past and the present, Cantonese is the dialect that has received the most influence of the English language. Close contact between Chinese and Europeans dates from the arrival of merchants in Canton and the southern regions.⁴⁵⁹ As a result, many English words have been absorbed into the Cantonese lexicon – many of these by means of phonetic borrowing, e.g. ‘beer’ *bējiú* 啤酒 (Mandarin *píjiǔ*) and ‘cheese’ *jīshì* 芝士 (Mandarin *zhīshì*).⁴⁶⁰ The Cantonese dialect also contains some special characters that do not exist in Mandarin Chinese. Some of these dialect characters are used for the rendering of English transliterations, e.g. ‘mark’ *māk* 唛 and ‘card’ *kāt* 咭.⁴⁶¹ The island of Hong Kong is even closer related to the English speaking world, as it has been a colony of Great Britain for almost 200 years. Only in the year 1997, the island’s sovereignty was transferred to the People’s Republic of China. The contemporary official language situation in Hong Kong is one of ‘bilitaracy and trilingualism’ (*liǎngwén sānyǔ* 两文三语⁴⁶²): *bilitaracy* refers to competence in both written Standard Chinese and

⁴⁵⁶ Norman (1988: 181).

⁴⁵⁷ Norman (1988: 185).

⁴⁵⁸ Ping (1999: 51).

⁴⁵⁹ Bolton (2003: 41).

⁴⁶⁰ Bauer (2006: 172-173).

⁴⁶¹ You (2016: 38-39).

⁴⁶² Li (2015: 598).

English, *trilingualism* means being fluent in spoken English, Cantonese and Putonghua.⁴⁶³ The English language is very important in Hong Kong for the government, education, business and law.⁴⁶⁴

Inhabitants of Hong Kong encounter English on a daily basis through education, business and media.⁴⁶⁵ Many of them are bilingual, as the official law prescribes. In this multilingual situation, many English words find their way into the Cantonese vocabulary. As a result, there are a lot more English loanwords to be found in Cantonese than in Mandarin Chinese.⁴⁶⁶ Scholars also perceive that English words and transliterations and alphabetic letters are accepted more easily in Cantonese speaking areas, than in regions where Standard Mandarin is predominating.⁴⁶⁷ From an historic and social perspective, this should not come as a surprise. As T'sou states: "The Cantonese speaking community has had exposure and access to Western culture for a longer period of time, and on a more massive scale than the Mandarin speaking community in Mainland China".⁴⁶⁸

Without doubt, Chinese dialects have been influencing each other. Especially the Cantonese dialect is gaining importance in Mainland China, and exercises influence on Standard Putonghua.⁴⁶⁹ The reasons for this phenomenon are plentiful. First, Cantonese is an important variant since it is used in the vital economic regions of the southern provinces and the island of Hong Kong.⁴⁷⁰ Second, from the 1980s onwards, dialects have become important in cultural life, as they are heard in theatres and on television.⁴⁷¹ For example, Cantonese is also present on the national television channel CCTV.⁴⁷² As the Cantonese dialect is gaining popularity, words often flow from the Cantonese dialect into Standard Mandarin Chinese. For example, the colloquial words 'taxi' *dīksí* 的士 (Mandarin *díshì*) and *bāsih* 'bus' 巴士 (Mandarin *bāshì*) were coined in Hong Kong. These words were welcomed in Mainland China as shorter alternatives for the rather long forms *chēutjōuheichē* 出租汽车 (Mandarin *chūzūqìchē*) and *gūnggūnhēichē* 公共汽车 (Mandarin *gōnggòngqìchē*) respectively, and are commonly used in Mainland

⁴⁶³ Zhang & Yang (2004: 142). "Hong Kong needs English for the maintenance of its status as an international trade and finance center, Cantonese for daily communication among the locals, and Putonghua for its political communication with Beijing and economic and business exchange with the Mainland". See Zhou & Ross (2004: 6).

⁴⁶⁴ Li (2015: 598).

⁴⁶⁵ Chan & Kwok (1990: 9).

⁴⁶⁶ Ping (1999: 107).

⁴⁶⁷ Heffernan (2011: 481), Chan & Kwok (1990: 27), Hu (2004: 37).

⁴⁶⁸ T'sou (2001: 41-42).

⁴⁶⁹ Hu (2004: 37).

⁴⁷⁰ Ping (1999: 52).

⁴⁷¹ Li (2015: 595). Another important region for borrowings is Taiwan. See Shi (2006: 35). However, we will not discuss the topic of language in Taiwan in this dissertation.

⁴⁷² Ping (1999: 58).

China now.⁴⁷³ ‘Break dance’ *pīklīkmóuh* 霹雳舞 (Mandarin *pīlìwǔ*) (a loanblend) and ‘give somebody the sack’ (colloquial for ‘fire somebody’) *cháyuyàoohyú* 炒鱿鱼 (Mandarin *chǎoyóuyú*) (a semantic translation) were integrated into Chinese through the Cantonese dialect.⁴⁷⁴

Differences between Chinese dialects can also give rise to certain difficulties concerning English loanwords. The fact that Chinese characters are pronounced differently in the various dialects, can lead to rather strange phonetic borrowings. For example, the English word ‘jeep’ got transliterated as *jípǔ* 吉普. Nevertheless, in the Cantonese dialect, these characters are pronounced as *gātpóu*, which obviously makes no sense as transliteration.⁴⁷⁵ A possible solution could be that each dialect would use different morphemes to transliterate a foreign word. This strategy is sometimes in use. For example, ‘chocolate’ is transliterated in Cantonese as *zyūgúlihk* 朱古力, and in Standard Mandarin Chinese as *qiǎokèlì* 巧克力.⁴⁷⁶ The pronunciation of the characters approximates the English sounds in each dialect. Notice that both options entail a problem: using the same morphemes in each dialect gives rise to many strange transliterations, whereas the use of different morphemes promotes an unconformity of the written language. Furthermore, different dialects may opt for another translation strategy. Examples of these regional differences are ‘laser’ (*jīguāng* 激光 in Standard Mandarin versus *lèuihseh* 镭射 in Cantonese), ‘tip’ (*xiāofèi* 消费 versus *tīpsí* 贴士), and ‘buffet’ (*zìzhùcān* 自助餐 versus *boufèi* 布斐).⁴⁷⁷ This as well can lead to confusion and misunderstandings.

⁴⁷³ Later, components of these words got also used in new compounds, such as ‘take a taxi’ *dǎdī* 打的 and ‘minibus’ *xiǎobā* 小吧. See Sun & Jiang (2000: 99), Li (2003: 129), Hu (2004: 39).

⁴⁷⁴ Ping (1999: 107).

⁴⁷⁵ Chan & Kwok (1990: 17-18).

⁴⁷⁶ Chan & Kwok (1990: 93).

⁴⁷⁷ Hu (2004: 37), Heffernan (2011: 481).

5. Standardisation of loanwords

The final chapter of this dissertation concerns the standardisation of loanwords, such as the institutions and regulations that prescribe the status of a loan as an integral part of the Chinese lexicon. Throughout this thesis, we have mentioned several times the lack of standard and unity there seems to be concerning the usage of loanwords. However, there were already translation institutions aiming at the standardisation of foreign terms in the 19th century. This chapter tries to provide a brief sketch of the most important institutions, and opinions of scholars on the topic. Furthermore, we try to answer the question how the perceived lack of unity can be understood and possibly solved.

Acceptance and standardisation of loanwords is a gradual process, which starts with the encounter of a (bilingual) individual with a foreign word. The translator will try to make a suitable Chinese translation for this term. However, since different translators, in different regions, may opt for another rendition (semantic versus phonetic, other character choice while transliterating, etc.), this can give rise to the coexistence of various translations for one and the same word. This is problematic, as it can cause terminological confusion and miscommunication.⁴⁷⁸ Especially for scientific and technological terms, a standardised vocabulary is strongly required for an effective knowledge exchange. In the last two centuries, several standardisation bureaus for scientific terminology have been founded in China.

The first institutions for the translation of Western works were founded in the 19th century. The most important organisation was the Beijing School of Combined Learning (*Jīngshī Tóngwénguǎn* 京师同文馆), founded in 1862, which initially focussed on the study of Western languages, and later also carried out translations of scientific works.⁴⁷⁹ At the beginning of the 20th century, the Standardisation Office of the Ministry of Education charged Yan Fu 严复, a prominent linguist, to make a conversion table for foreign scientific words in all disciplines.⁴⁸⁰ However, these and other praiseworthy attempts all lacked the authority to be decisive. A real centralized organ for the examination of translations, came with the establishment of the National Bureau of Compilation and Translation (*Guólì Biānyìguǎn* 国立编译馆) in Nanjing in 1932.⁴⁸¹ The Bureau engaged in the translation of Western scientific works – on chemistry,

⁴⁷⁸ Liu (1986: 39).

⁴⁷⁹ Casalin (2008: 11), Masini (1993: 35). Studied topics were among others astronomy, chemistry, physics, etc. The School also focused on the translation of chemical elements, which gave rise to newly created characters such as *jiǎ* 钾 ‘potassium’, *xīn* 锌 ‘zinc’, and *měi* 镁 ‘magnesium’. See Feng (2002: 6).

⁴⁸⁰ Alleton (2001: 16), Feng (2002: 7).

⁴⁸¹ Liu (1986: 34).

physics, mathematics, astronomy, economy, philosophy, etc. – and the unification of scientific terminology.⁴⁸²

Once the People's Republic of China was founded, scholars continued the contemplation on translating and borrowing. Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengtan brought forth the principle of “three one” (one word, one pronunciation, one character).⁴⁸³ This principle indicates that a loanword should receive one standard translation and that it should always be written with the same characters. Gao and Liu believed that this would improve the efficiency of using foreign words in Chinese.⁴⁸⁴ Furthermore, several state institutions for the standardisation of terms were founded, especially for the regulation of scientific and technological terms. Examples are the National Commission of Language and Script (*Guójiā Yǔyán Wénzì Gōngzuò Wěiyuánhui* 国家语言文字工作委员会), and the China National Committee for Terms in Sciences and Technology (*Quánguó Kēxué Jìshù Míngcí Shěndìng Wěiyuánhui* 全国科学技术名词审定委员会).⁴⁸⁵ As regards the standardisation of foreign proper names, the most effort was put forth by the Xinhua News Agency. They started with the compilation of lists for the transliteration of foreign names in the 1950s. The associates prescribed that a name should always be transliterated by means of the same characters, and additionally that common and frequently used characters should be selected.⁴⁸⁶ In 1993, the Xinhua News Agency Proper Names and Translation Service published ‘Names of the World's Peoples: a Comprehensive Dictionary of Names in Roman-Chinese’ (*Shìjiè rénmíng fānyì dà cídiǎn* 世界人名翻译大辞典). This dictionary contains 650,000 names from languages all over the world, and added a conversion table for those names not included.⁴⁸⁷ Nevertheless, as mentioned in a previous chapter, the transliterations put forth in the Comprehensive Dictionary are not applied consistently by translators and writers in China.

In the year 2000, on the Eighteenth Meeting of the Ninth National People's Congress Standing Committee of the People's Republic of China, the first national law on language was presented. It concerns the ‘Law on the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese

⁴⁸² Ping (1999: 109), Shi (2015: 150). The work was carried out by individual translators, authors of textbooks and dictionaries, and journalists. See Alleton (2001: 16). The Bureau is nowadays still in charge in Taiwan.

⁴⁸³ Gao & Liu (1958: 179-181), cited in Zhu (2008: 43).

⁴⁸⁴ “They further expounded this principle by advancing six rules, including extensive use, faithful transliteration, simplicity, historical conventions, semantic explicitness, and conformity to Chinese word-building grammar”. See Miao (2016: 576).

⁴⁸⁵ The predecessor of the National Commission of Language and Script The China was already founded in 1949. The National Committee for Terms in Sciences and Technology was founded in 1985. For more information, see the website of the National Committee and the Chinese Governmental Website on Language. Also see Miao (2016: 576), Feng (2002: 7).

⁴⁸⁶ Yang (2007: 230).

⁴⁸⁷ Miao (2016: 576), Yan (2013: 5), Ping (1999: 111), refer to Xinhua News Agency Proper Names and Translation Service (1993).

Language’, which went into effect on the 1st January 2001.⁴⁸⁸ Some articles of the Law concern the usage of foreign words in China. For example, the following is written in Article 11: “Where foreign languages need to be used in publications in Chinese, necessary explanatory notes in standard Chinese shall be applied”.⁴⁸⁹ This writing indicates that the government is attentive for the needs of those Chinese citizens who do not master the English language perfectly. Yet, as perceived in the examination of contemporary newspaper and magazine articles, English letters and words are used on a regular basis, without any guiding explanation in Chinese. This can be understood as a consequence of globalization and the widespread use and study of English in China. Furthermore, in Article 25, we read:

“The department in charge of the work related to spoken and written language under the State Council or other departments concerned, shall make arrangements for the examination of the translation of the proper nouns like the names of foreigners and foreign places and the scientific and technical terms into the standard spoken and written Chinese language”.⁴⁹⁰

This article demonstrates that the officials are aware that standardisation is required, not only for scientific and technical terms, but also for proper names. Language use and standardisation is becoming more and more important among Chinese policy-makers. In 2008, the ‘National Medium- and Long-Term Language Work Reform and Development Plan Outline (2010-2020)’ was introduced. State documents and outlines emphasize that the use of standard spoken and written Chinese is to be preferred in all circumstances – that is to be preferred over minority’s and foreign languages.⁴⁹¹ In 2010, the Secretariat of the General Office of the State Council issued the ‘Notification of Strengthening the Work of Examining and Verifying the use of Foreign Language Words in Official Documents of State Administrative Organizations’, in which we read:

“The department in charge of the usage of spoken and written languages under the State Council and other relevant departments must jointly make rules for foreign language word translation and spelling, provide a translation of emerging foreign language words in a timely manner, and their standard translations and Chinese abbreviations must be announced regularly to the public”.⁴⁹²

The government calls for the regulation and standardisation of foreign words in the Chinese lexicon. This involves the cooperation of both central organs and regional commissions, institutions and universities.

From this brief overview, we see that the most important historical institutions merely focussed on the standardisation of scientific and technological terms. Unified terminology is particularly important in

⁴⁸⁸ Pan (2016: 271).

⁴⁸⁹ Database of Law & Regulations on the website of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China.

⁴⁹⁰ Database of Law & Regulations on the website of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China.

⁴⁹¹ Cai et al. (2015: 3-4).

⁴⁹² Cai et al (2015: 5-6).

these disciplines as it allows free knowledge exchange and prevents misunderstandings.⁴⁹³ It can be said that scientific and technological vocabulary already attained a high degree of standardisation. In recent years, however, linguists and policy-makers in China are facing new challenges, which are (in)direct consequences of globalization. By means of modern communication devices such as the internet and mass media, Chinese people daily encounter English words.⁴⁹⁴ This gives rise to the use of loanwords in a context which is difficult to regulate. As Zhao states: “Qualified translators do not conduct all loanword translation activities, and loanwords enter into Chinese through various channels”.⁴⁹⁵ In our globalized society, encounters with foreign languages are by no means limited to specialised institutions or translators. Yet, if every individual translates the foreign word in his or her own way, it will give rise to much disunity and confusion. Furthermore, zero translations can be understood as a by-product of the growing importance and popularity of English. Letter words can enter China after they have been encountered online, on television, in class, or as a result of contact with English-speakers or Chinese overseas. The government recommends the use of Standard Mandarin Chinese in all publications. Regarding English words and letters, it is prescribed that a Chinese descriptive should be added. Nevertheless, in reality this is seldom the case. The increasing appearance of English words in Chinese publications seems to be unstoppable.

As a mitigating factor, we must not forget that language is a social phenomenon, which cannot possibly be fully controlled by a central government. Language contact and exchanges happen naturally, no institute or authority can impose which words should be used. A loan can only become part of the lexicon if it is widely accepted by the language’s speakers. In this context, central and local institutions can only observe which loans are in use. Policy-makers can then try to bring forward the generally preferred variant as standard form, and consequently include this term in dictionaries.⁴⁹⁶ A certain degree of standardisation is necessary for a fluent communication without misunderstandings, as Miao states: “To reduce and eliminate potential miscommunication, it is advisable for government and academic institutions in Chinese-speaking regions to cooperate on the standardisation of loanwords”.⁴⁹⁷ Concerning transliterations of foreign proper names, it would be good if a standard (such as the Xinhua Dictionary) would be applied consistently, this would make the understanding of foreign names in Chinese considerably easier.

⁴⁹³ Feng (2004: 71-77).

⁴⁹⁴ Chan & Kwok (1990: 19).

⁴⁹⁵ Zhao (2006: 13).

⁴⁹⁶ Chan & Kwok (1990: 19).

⁴⁹⁷ Miao (2016: 576).

Concluding, we think that the issue of standardisation of the Chinese language is recently gaining attention both among policy-makers and scholars as it becomes more and more urgent following the increasing influx of English letters and words.⁴⁹⁸ There seems to be progress in the decisiveness of language laws and regulations, but the growing presence of English in China poses additional challenges. We expect the dialogue on how English words should be treated and used in Chinese publications to continue in the future. It remains to see how possible new laws and institutions will deal with the inflow of new loanwords, how further standardisation will be conducted, and whether or not the disunity can be brought to an end.

⁴⁹⁸ Miao (2016: 576-577).

Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was the investigation of English loanwords in Chinese, both from a historical-social perspective, as well as from a pure linguistic point of view. We perceive that several borrowing methods that were developed by the Buddhist translators are also used for the translation of English terms in contemporary times. The growing presence of English words in China can be explained as a result from globalization. Especially words concerning science and technology, and cultural words (e.g. nutrients) get integrated in China. Globalization alone is not sufficient to explain this phenomenon: there is also support among the common people, as Western culture and English are considered fashionable and ‘cool’.

On a linguistic level, we distinguish several methods to translate English words. A first option is to transliterate the source word by replacing the English sounds with their closest Chinese correspondent. It is also requisite to transform certain illicit syllable structures. In a phonetic borrowing, the intrinsic meaning of the selected characters is omitted. The most radical type of borrowing is a zero translation: the exact copy of English letters or words. It mostly concerns acronyms and initialisms. Zero translations are getting more and more prevalent in Modern China. This can be explained by the developments in science and technology, the growing popularity of English in China, and the fact that more and more (young) Chinese start studying English. Critics argue that phonetic borrowings are a violence against the purity of the Chinese language, and they therefore favour semantic translations. A semantic borrowing can concern a shift of meaning in a single word, or the creation of a new compound consisting of indigenous Chinese characters. The latter is referred to as a loan translation or calque. Another option is to coin a free translation: a typical Chinese way of describing a foreign term. Although finding a suitable semantic translation can be difficult, the results are often very creative. Free translations account for the type of loanwords with the highest degree of naturalization in Chinese. The foreign nature of semantic translations is often undistinguishable.

The discussion whether phonetic or semantic borrowing is to be preferred for the translation of foreign terms already existed among the Buddhist translators. Both methods have their pros and contras. As Needham states: “Should we transliterate phonetically, with impossible ugly gibberish resulting? Or should we employ already existing Chinese words and distort the meaning?”⁴⁹⁹ Some scholars argue that phonetic borrowings do not fit into the Chinese way of thinking, as Chinese would prefer characters

⁴⁹⁹ Needham (1970: 93), cited in Alleton (2001: 27).

where both the semantic and phonetic value are retained. They believe that all transliterations will in time be replaced by semantic borrowings. Historical evidence as well as contemporary research show that this is not necessarily true. On the contrary, we believe that the so-called Chinese preference for ‘meaningful’ characters is probably overestimated.

Furthermore, there are borrowing techniques at hand that combine phonetic and semantic elements. A first option are loanblends, in which a phonetic and semantic part are pasted together. The advantage of loanblends over pure phonetic borrowings is that the Chinese reader can at least get a hint of the word’s semantic meaning. A second option is phono-semantic matching: a transliteration in which the employed characters carry a complementary meaning. Some Chinese scholars believe that this is ‘the perfect translation’, as it combines a foreign pronunciation with content-carrying characters. Nevertheless, phono-semantic borrowings are not commonly used, as shown by our small research in newspapers and magazines. Only for the translation of brand names into Chinese, phono-semantic borrowing is a popular translation strategy. The third and last option is the creation of a new *xíngshēng*-character. Although this practice is typically Chinese, we perceive that it is rarely applied in recent years. Concerning proper names, we see that foreign personal names are mostly transliterated, but not consistently by various translators. This gives rise to confusion and disunity. We also perceive very long transliterated strings of characters, which is very ‘un-Chinese’. The situation is even more complicated for place names. Although certain standards have been proposed, we encounter all mentioned types of borrowings for the translation of place names.

The topic of English loanwords in Chinese requires more investigation. The precise adaptation mechanisms for phonetic borrowings, the underlying process of free translations, the limited use of phono-semantic matching, and why Chinese do not simply create new *xíngshēng*-characters for the translation of foreign terms, are topics and questions we were unable to answer in this thesis. In the last chapter, we discussed the rather practical question on the standardisation of loanwords. We perceive that standardisation is more or less ‘on point’ for scientific and technological terms. Nevertheless, regarding ‘everyday’ cultural words and especially proper names, there is much confusion and disunity. We keep in mind that no one can impose nor predict which words will be adopted, and which method will be used in the borrowing process. Language change is a social phenomenon, which eventually always depends on the decisions of native speakers. If the status and prestige of the English language keep expanding, we might presume that the amount of English (loan)words in China will increase in the future.

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Attachments

Attachment I. Phonetic inventories of Mandarin Chinese and English

Illicit phonemes in the other language are indicated in color.

Phonemic inventory Mandarin Chinese ⁵⁰⁰	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p p^h			t t^h					k k^h		
Nasal	m			n					ŋ		
Trill											
Tap or flap											
Fricative		f		s	ɕ		ʂ		x		
Affricate				ts ts^h	tɕ tɕ^h		tʂ tʂ^h				
Glide (approximant)							ɻ				
Liquid (lateral approximant)				l							

Phonemic inventory English ⁵⁰¹	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d					k g		
Nasal	m			n					ŋ		
Trill											
Tap or flap											
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z				ʃ ʒ		h	
Affricate						tʃ dʒ					
Glide (approximant)	w			r				j			
Liquid (lateral approximant)				l							

⁵⁰⁰ From: American Speech-Language-Hearing Association. (2017, May 22). Retrieved from www.asha.org. ASHA refers to: Cheng, L. (1991). *Assessing Asian language performance: Guidelines for evaluating limited-English proficient students* (2nd ed.). Oceanside, CA: Academic Communication Associates. Fang, X., & Ping-an, H.. (1992). Articulation disorders among speakers of Mandarin Chinese. *American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology*, 1 (4), 15–16.

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Attachment II. Transliterations

Categories and possible reasons for phonological borrowing. Based on Chan & Kwok, Appendix I (1990: 85-125).

Category	Examples	Remarks (reasons)
Cultural terms	爵士乐 juéshìyuè (jazz) 芭蕾舞 bālěiwǔ (ballet) 卡通 kǎtōng (cartoon) 迪斯科 dísīkē (disco) 幽默 yōumò (humour)	Transliterations often + categorical morpheme. Culturally bound terms, very difficult to describe.
Nourishments	巧克力 qiǎokèlì (chocolate) 咖啡 kāfēi (coffee) 汉堡 hànǎo (hamburger) 布丁 bùdīng (pudding)	Food from another culture, almost impossible to describe.
Western objects	沙发 shāfā (sofa) 麦克风 màikèfēng (microphone) 尼龙 nílóng (nylon)	Culturally specific terms. Difficult to describe.
Pharmaceuticals	哥罗仿 gēluófǎng (chloroform) 吗啡 mǎfēi (morphine) 阿司匹林 āsīpǐlín (aspirin)	Words that need to be defined accurately and correctly.
Plants and animals	阿米巴 āmǐbā (amoeba) 大丽花 dàlìhuā (dahlia)	Discoveries made elsewhere in the world. Little knowledge about foreign fauna and flora.
Religious terms	哈利路亚 hālìlùyà (hallelujah) 伊斯兰 yīslán (islam) 安琪儿 ānqí'ér (angel)	These terms are difficult to describe accurately. Culturally specific words.

Attachment III. Phonetic and semantic loanwords

Verifying loanwords with a phonetic and semantic variant. (1) Pleco dictionary⁵⁰² (2) New Age Chinese-English Dictionary⁵⁰³ (3) Baidu search engine⁵⁰⁴ (4) Evaluation.

Entries	Pleco	New Age Chinese-English dictionary	Baidu	Evaluation
Microphone màikèfēng 麦克风 huàtǒng 话筒	‘microphone’ ‘microphone’	‘microphone’ ‘microphone’	85.800.000 67.800.000	<u>Transliteration</u> prevails. However, the semantic translation is also common in use.
Engine yǐnqíng 引擎 fādòngjī 发动机	‘engine’ ‘engine’	‘engine’ ‘engine’	100.000.000 100.000.000	Equal results.
Vitamin ⁵⁰⁵ wéitāmìng 维他命 wéishēngsù 维生素	‘old name for wéishēngsù’ ‘vitamin’	‘old transliteration for wéishēngsù’ ‘vitamin’	94.400.000 100.000.000	<u>Semantic</u> translation prevails. Even though described as ‘old’ form, the transliteration generates many results online.
Cement shuǐménfīng 水门汀 shuǐní 水泥 yánguī 洋灰	‘dialect: cement’ ‘cement’ ‘popular name for shuǐní’	‘dialect for cement’ ‘cement’ ‘popular term for shuǐní’	862.000 100.000.000 721.000	Standard Mandarin <u>transliteration</u> prevails.
Telephone déilǜfēng 德律风 diànhuà 电话	‘telephone’ ‘telephone’	X (variant not included) ‘telephone’	970.000 100.000.000	<u>Semantic</u> translation prevails.

⁵⁰² Pleco: software application. Dictionary English-Chinese and Chinese-English.

⁵⁰³ Wu & Cheng (2007). *Xin shidai hanying da cidian* 新时代汉英大词典 ("New Age Chinese-English Dictionary"). Beijing: The Commercial Press.

⁵⁰⁴ <http://www.baidu.com/> (2017.04.03).

⁵⁰⁵ Hu (2004: 37): “The word ‘vitamin’ was translated in the 1920s as *wéitāmìng* (‘sustain his life’), was changed into *wéishēngsù* (‘life-sustaining substance’) in mainland China in the 1950s, when the Ideological Remolding Campaign was launched, during which some leading translators advocated free translation and naturalization to avoid the ‘foreign tone’.”

Hormone				
hé'ěrméng 荷尔蒙	'hormone: old name for jīsù'	'hormone (now called jīsù)'	41.100.000	<u>Semantic translation prevails.</u>
hè'ěrméng 贺尔蒙	'hormone'	X (variant not included)	684.000	
jīsù 激素	'hormone'	'hormone (also hé'ěrméng)'	100.000.000	
Amoeba				
āmībā 阿米巴	'amoeba'	'amoeba'	15.400.000	<u>Transliteration prevails.</u>
biànxíngchóng 变形虫	'amoeba'	'amoeba'	2.020.000	
Utopia				
wūtuōbāng 乌托邦	'Utopia'	'Utopia'	29.500.000	<u>Transliteration prevails.</u>
lǐxiǎngguó 理想国	'Utopia'	X (variant not included)	15.900.000	
Motor				
mǎdá 马达	'motor: common name for diàndòngjī'	'motor'	100.000.000	Equal results.
diàndòngjī 电动机	'(electric) motor'	'motor'	100.000.000	
Angel				
ānqí'ér 安琪儿	'angel'	'angel'	6.380.000	<u>Semantic translation prevails.</u>
tiānshǐ 天使	'angel'	'angel'	100.000.000	
Penicillin				
pánníxīlín 盘尼西林	'penicillin'	'penicillin (also qīngméisù)'	923.000	<u>Semantic translation prevails.</u>
qīngméisù 青霉素	'penicillin'	'penicillin (also pánníxīlín)'	34.000.000	

Attachment IV. Brand names

Requirements of a good brand name, cited in Chan & Huang (1997: 228).

The authors' three-component criteria for the development of brand names are as follows:

The marketing component:

- suggestive of product benefits;
- promotable, advertisable and persuasive;
- suited to package;
- fit with company image and other products' image.

The legal component:

- legally available for use (not in use by another firm);
- unique in competition.

The linguistic component:

- 1 The phonetic requirements:
 - easy to pronounce;
 - pleasing when read or heard;
 - pronounceable in only one way and in all languages for goods to be exported.
- 2 The morphological requirements:
 - short and simple.
- 3 The semantic requirements:
 - positive, not offensive, obscene, or negative;
 - modern or contemporary, always timely;
 - understandable and memorable.

Attachment V. Personal names

The translation of twenty personal names in Chinese.

Category	Names	Chinese characters	Pinyin	Remarks
Pop culture	David Beckham (football player)	大卫·贝克汉姆	Dàwèi Bèikèhànmǔ	- Common transliterations of 'David' and 'Beckham'. - Nickname: <i>Xiǎobèi</i> 小贝.
	Whitney Houston (deceased female singer)	惠特妮·休斯顿	Huìtēnī Xiūsīdùn	- <i>huì</i> 惠 = gracious / <i>nīzi</i> 妮子 = girl. Beautiful connotations for a woman. - Same transliteration as Houston (city).
	Colin Firth (actor)	1. 哥連·費夫 2. 科林·弗思	1. Gēlián Fèifu 2. Kēlín Fúsī	- Two variants found. - <i>gē</i> 哥 = big brother / <i>fu</i> 夫 = man. Typical for a male.
	Marc Jacobs (fashion designer)	马克·雅各布斯	Mǎkè Yāgèbùsī	Common transliteration of 'Marc'.
Business	Warren Buffet (magnate, investor)	沃伦·巴菲特	Wòlún Bāfēitè	
	Steve Jobs (founder of Apple)	1. 史提夫·贾伯斯 2. 史蒂夫·乔布斯	1. Shǐtífū Jiǎbósī 2. Shǐdífū Qiáobùsī	Two variants of the name are found.
	Larry Page (founder of Google)	拉里·佩奇	Lālǐ Pèiqí	
	Bill Gates (founder of Microsoft)	比尔·盖茨	Bǐ'ěr Gàicí	Common transliteration of 'Bill'.
Science	Stephen Hawking (physicist)	史蒂芬·霍金	Shǐdīfēn Huòjīn	Other variants of 'Steven'/'Stephen': <i>Sīdīwén</i> 斯蒂文 and <i>Sīdīfēn</i> 斯蒂芬.
	Charles Darwin (biologist)	查尔斯·达尔文	Chá'ěrsī Dá'ěrwén	Common transliteration of 'Charles'.
	Richard Dawkins (biologist)	理查德·道金斯	Lǐchádé Dàojīnsī	Other variant of 'Richard': <i>Lǐchádé</i> 理查德.
	Noam Chomsky (linguist)	诺姆·乔姆斯基	Nuòmǔ Qiáomǔsījī	
Politics	Theresa Mary May (current Prime Minister UK)	特雷莎·玛丽·梅	Tèléishā Mǎlì Méi	Common transliteration of 'Theresa'/'Teresa'.

	Hillary Clinton (USA president candidate)	希拉里·克林顿	Xīlālǐ Kèlǐndùn	Other variant of 'Hillary': <i>Xīlārui</i> 希拉蕊.
	George Walker Bush (former president USA)	乔治·沃克·布什	Qiáozhì Wòkè Bùshí	Common transliteration of 'George'.
	John McCain (Senator USA)	约翰·麦凯恩	Yuēhàn Màikǎi'ēn	- Common transliteration of 'John'/'Johan'. - <i>kǎi</i> 凯 = victorious / <i>ēn</i> 恩 = grace. Positive male characteristics.
Deceased creatives	William Shakespeare (poet, play writer)	威廉·莎士比亚	Wēilián Shāshìbǐyà	- Common transliteration of 'William'. - <i>wēi</i> 威 = impressive strength / <i>lián</i> 廉 = honest. Positive male characteristics.
	George Orwell (novelist)	乔治·奥威尔	Qiáozhì Àowēi ěr	<i>wēi</i> 威 = impressive strength. <i>Positive male characteristic.</i>
	Walt Disney (Founder Walt Disney, film producer)	1. 华特·迪士尼 2. 华特·迪斯尼	1. Huátè Dīshìní 2. Huátè Dísīní	Two variants of 'Disney' found.
	Helen Keller (author)	海伦·凯勒	Hǎilún Kǎilē	- Common transliteration of 'Helen'. - <i>kǎi</i> 凯 = victorious. Auspicious characteristic.

Attachment VI. Research in newspapers and magazines

Research: English loanwords in contemporary Chinese newspapers and magazines

Legend:

Yellow: zero translation

Orange: transliteration

Green: calque

Blue: semantic / free translation

Purple: phono-semantic loan

Pink: loanblend

Red: proper name / brand name

An asterisk (*) indicates incertitude.

1. 半月谈

Article in China Comment magazine (*Bànyuètán* 半月谈), “University campuses are fermenting the entertainment culture”.⁵⁰⁶

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
传媒	chuánméi	communication media	phono-semantic in new compound	Phono-semantic loan 媒体 <i>méitǐ</i> (media), <i>méi</i> is here used in the new compound <i>chuanmei</i> .
AA制	AA-zhì	to split the bill	zero translation + Chinese morpheme	‘AA制’ cannot be considered as a real loanword, since English speakers never use the expression ‘AA’, rather they say ‘split the bill’ or ‘go Dutch’. Suggestions for the Chinese loan are that ‘AA制’ derives from ‘Algebraic Average’ + make (制), or ‘All Apart’ + make (制). ⁵⁰⁷
游击战	yóujīzhàn	guerrilla war	free translation	Literal meaning of <i>yóujī</i> 游击: (people who are) roving around and making assaults.
KTV	/	karaoke (television)	zero translation	‘KTV’ cannot be considered as a real loanword, as the abbreviation is never used in Anglo-American countries. It is suggested that the word is derived from MTV (music/movie television rooms) which existed in Taiwan, and were later replaced by rooms for ‘karaoke television’. ⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ Wang Jing 王静 (2016, March 4). Dàxué xiàoyuán lǐ zhèngzài fāxiào yìngchóu wénhuà 大学校园里正在发酵应酬文化 (“University campuses are fermenting the entertainment culture”). *Banyuetan*. Retrieved from <http://www.banyuetan.org>.

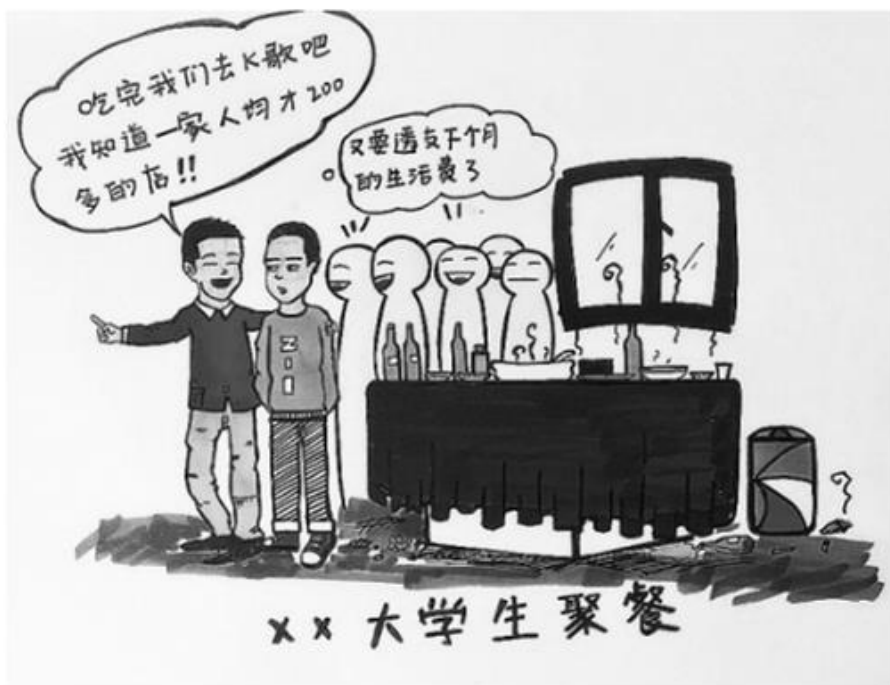
⁵⁰⁷ Until now there does not seem to be a definite explanation for this word. For more explanation on several suggestions see <http://baike.baidu.com/item/AA制>.

⁵⁰⁸ Notice that ‘karaoke’ itself is a Japanese loanword. See Hosokawa, S. & Mitsui, T. (2005). *Karaoke Around the World: Global Technology, Local Singing*. Routledge. p. 175.

大学校园里正在发酵应酬文化

2016-03-04 10:51 来源：中国青年报 编辑：王静

分享到：



福建师范大学 刘松岳/绘

踏上离乡返校的列车，何凯才回过神儿：半年来，自己省吃俭用从生活费里攒下的钱一个假期就花光了，这1500元钱几乎都用于聚会支出。

然而寒假的结束似乎并不意味着“聚会频繁期”的终结。近日，中国高校传媒联盟随机向460位大学生发放问卷，29.31%的受访者聚会频率达到每周两次以上，其中本科低年级占63.52%。所有受访者中，38.08%的大学生在聚会社交方面的开销占生活费的比例超过30%。

同学间的频繁聚餐已成负担

温是湖南一所高校大三的学生。大学伊始，她就加入了多个学生组织、社团，课余生活充实丰富。她坦言自己有非常多的聚餐，毕业季尤甚。“周末就不得空，赶场子似的。”温解释，各个组织、工作部门之间都会不定期聚餐。她觉得这种现象在各高校已经普遍存在。

她笑称自己本来就是经常“吃土”的人，尽管聚餐通常都是AA制，每单消费人均50元左右，但凑多了也是不小的开销。

在温看来，有的聚会是必要的，大家也经常吃得、玩得很开心，但有时她觉得聚餐理由“实在太牵强”。比如在社团中，其它部门聚餐，那自己的部门也会“跟风”聚一聚。她毫不避讳地承认，有些自己真的很不愿意参加。“本来大家就忙，有时学长学姐还不会给钱，我们来分摊他们那份，所以很烦啊。”

何凯家在南方的一个小城，3年前前往哈尔滨读大学。由于学校暑假短寒假长，因此他只有寒假才会回家。亲朋好友一年不见，何凯的“档期”在回家之前就被排满了。除了大年廿九到正月初六，他几乎每天都要在外“应酬”，甚至还会有夜宵。父母都调侃他为“大忙人”。

何凯还记得回到家的当晚，父母特意为他做了一桌子好菜，本来要和高中好兄弟聚餐的何凯不好意思拒绝父母的心意，在家吃完后又匆匆赶到饭店吃第二顿晚饭。“男生之间聚餐少不了酒。”何凯有时候也不情愿，“但是图个气氛，不喝就太不给别人面子了。”一箱酒，一桌菜，何凯本来在家就吃饱了，大家都顾着喝酒谈天，满桌的菜只动了几筷子而已。

这场聚会的组织者也是请客者，何凯他们都对这种聚餐模式习以为常，当天散伙前又定了第二天的饭局。“我们有个不成文的规矩，就是轮流请客，这次你请，下次我请。别人都请客了我肯定也要回请。”不管吃多少，何凯他们点菜都特别大方，用他的话说就是——“有面子”。

从发小、小学、初中、到高中，一场又一场聚会让何凯觉得“心好累”。有时他着急去下一场聚会，而上一场的还没散伙，何凯不好意思提前离开，两边都要应付着，“打游击战似的，本来好好的聚会现在觉得成了负担，还怕得罪人。”

除了聚餐之外，去KTV唱歌、打牌也成了何凯这群人的聚会方式。操着一口地道的家乡话，几人群凑一桌麻将或是斗地主，有时玩到晚上九十点都还意犹未尽。

2. ELLE China (1)

Article in ELLE China magazine, “70 years of Cannes. Take a look at which films are listed as the main competitors”.⁵⁰⁹

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
戛纳	Jiánà	Cannes	proper name	transliteration
好莱坞	Hǎoláiwù	Hollywood	proper name	transliteration
蒂埃里·弗雷莫	Diāilǐ Fúléimò	Thierry Frémaux	proper name	transliteration

⁵⁰⁹ Sophieguo (2017, April 19). Jiánà 70 zhōunián, kàn kàn yǒu nǎxiē zuòpǐn rùwéi zhǔ jìngsài dānyuán 戛纳 70 周年，看看有哪些作品入围主竞赛单元 (“70 years of Cannes. Take a look at which films are listed as the main competitors”). *Elle China*. Retrieved from <http://www.ellechina.com>.

皮埃尔·莱斯屈尔	Piǎi'ěr Láisīquěr	Pierre Lescure	proper name	transliteration
克鲁瓦塞特大道	Kèlǔwāsāitè Dàdào	Croisette Boulevard	proper name	Loanblend of proper name + Chinese morpheme (<i>dàdào</i> 大道 'lane', 'boulevard').
托德·海因斯	Tuōdé Hǎiyīnsī	Todd Haynes	proper name	transliteration
朱丽安·摩尔	Zhūlì'ān Mó'ěr	Julianne Moore	proper name	transliteration
米歇尔·威廉姆斯	Mǐxiē'ěr Wēiliánmǔsī	Michelle Williams	proper name	transliteration
索菲亚·科波拉	Suǒfēiyà Kēbōlā	Sofia Coppola	proper name	transliteration
科林·法瑞尔	Kēlín Fǎruì'ěr	Colin Farrell	proper name	transliteration
妮可·基德曼	Nīkě Jīdémàn	Nicole Kidman	proper name	transliteration
克尔斯滕·邓斯特	Kè'ěrsīténg Dèngsītè	Kirsten Dunst	proper name	transliteration
艾丽·范宁	Àilì Fànníng	Elle Fanning	proper name	transliteration
金棕榈奖	Jīnzōnglǔ Jiǎng	Palme d'Or	semantic translation + category	Semantic translation of 'Palme d'Or' (Eng. 'Golden Palm') + category (<i>jiǎng</i> 奖 'award', 'prize').
迈克尔·哈内克	Màikè'ěr Hānèikè	Michael Haneke	proper name	transliteration
迈克尔·哈扎纳维希乌斯	màikè'ěr Hāzhānà-wéixīwūsī	Michel Hazanavicius	proper name	transliteration
法国	Fǎguó	France	proper name	Transliteration + category (<i>guó</i> 国 'land').
巴黎	Bālí	Paris	proper name	transliteration
香榭丽舍大街	Xiāngxièlishè Dàjiē	Avenue des Champs-Élysées (Fr.)	proper name	Loanblend of proper name + Chinese morpheme (<i>dàjiē</i> 大街 'avenue'). Notice the auspicious morphemes <i>xiāng</i> 'sweet-smelling', and <i>lì</i> 'beautiful'.
UGC 影院	UGC-yǐngyuàn	UGC cinema (Union Générale Cinématographique)	zero translation + Chinese morphemes	Loanblend of zero translation + Chinese morphemes 'cinema' <i>yǐngyuàn</i> 影院.
媒体	méitǐ	media	phono-semantic	Literally 'intermediary system'.
美国	Měiguó	America	proper name	Transliteration + category (<i>guó</i> 国 'land'). Literally 'beautiful land'.

唐纳德·特朗普	Tángnàdé Tèlǎngpǔ	Donald Trump	proper name	transliteration
叙利亚	Xùliǎyǎ	Syria	proper name	transliteration
红毯	hóngtǎn	red carpet	loan translation	Sometimes translated as <i>hóngdìtǎn</i> 红地毯.
罗伯特·帕丁森	Luōbótè Pádīngsēn	Robert Pattinson	proper name	transliteration
萨弗迪	Sǎfúdǐ	Safdie	proper name	transliteration
杰昆·菲尼克斯	Jiékūn Fēiníkèsī	Joaquin Phoenix	proper name	transliteration
琳恩·拉姆塞	Línēn Lāmūsāi	Lynne Ramsay	proper name	transliteration
安德烈·萨金塞夫	Āndéliè Sājīnsāifu	Andrej Zvjagintsev	proper name	transliteration
利维坦	Liwéitǎn	Leviathan	proper name	transliteration
俄罗斯	Éluósī	Russia	proper name	transliteration
德国	Déguó	Germany (Ger. Deutschland)	proper name	Transliteration + category (<i>guó</i> 国 'land'). Literally 'land of virtue'.
比利时	Bìlishí	Belgium	proper name	transliteration
欧盟	Ōuméng	European Union	proper name	Loanblend of proper name + Chinese morpheme (<i>méng</i> 盟 'alliance').
戈尔	Gē'ěr	(Al) Gore	proper name	transliteration
瓦妮莎· 雷德格瑞夫	Wǎnīshā Léidégéruìfu	Vanessa Redgrave	proper name	transliteration

戛纳70周年，看看有哪些作品入围主竞赛单元

来源：界面

2017-04-19 12:28

编辑：sophieguo

分享到

本届电影节组委会从1930部报名影片中，选出了19部入围主竞赛单元。

标签：春光之城 恐怖片 成龙 毒战 云图 大众 101次求婚 《环太平洋》 非诚勿扰 刘诗诗

2017年戛纳电影节将于5月17日到28日举行，尽管高冷的戛纳电影节一向不怎么待见好莱坞电影，但今年却有多部好莱坞影片入围主竞赛单元。主办方表示，今年参展女性导演作品数量达到12部，而在去年仅为9部。

日前，戛纳电影节艺术总监蒂埃里·弗雷莫（Thierry Frémaux）和戛纳电影节理事会主席皮埃尔·莱斯屈尔（Pierre Lescure）公布了第70届戛纳电影节的入围名单。

今年代表好莱坞出征戛纳的克鲁瓦塞特大道有托德·海因斯的历史片《寂静中的惊奇》，该电影由朱丽安·摩尔和迈克尔·威廉姆斯领衔主演，以及索菲亚·科波拉的《牡丹花下》，该电影由科林·法瑞尔、妮可·基德曼、克尔斯滕·邓斯特和艾丽·范宁出演。曾两度获得金棕榈奖的戛纳老朋友迈克·哈内克以及迈克尔·哈扎纳维希乌斯分别带着《快乐结局》和《敬畏》回归。

法国当地时间上午11点，戛纳电影节新闻发布会在巴黎香榭丽舍大街的UGC影院如期举行，弗雷莫和莱斯屈尔携手登上舞台，向媒体朋友公布了今年的入围影片。

莱斯屈尔在开幕致辞中提到了即将到来的法国大选和美国总统唐纳德·特朗普。“我们处在一个紧张不安的时代中，”他说：“特朗普每天都会给我新的惊喜，我希望北朝鲜、叙利亚不会给戛纳造成阴影。”

本届电影节组委会从1930部报名影片中，选出了19部入围主竞赛单元，4部入围非竞赛单元作品，3部入围午夜展映，1部入围特别展映，其中有9部入围影片是导演处女作。弗雷莫表示，今年有12位女性导演带来作品，较去年的9位有所上升。

今年的戛纳红毯将会有不少大牌明星加盟助阵，罗伯特·帕丁森出演了萨弗迪兄弟执导的犯罪剧情片《好时光》，杰昆·菲尼克斯领衔主演了琳恩·拉姆塞执导的《你从未在此》。

说到大牌明星，妮可·基德曼无疑是本届戛纳的戏霸，她出演了四部主竞赛单元电影，其他名录的入围影片也能看到她的身影，可以预见的是，妮可在下月举行戛纳上定有不俗的表现。

第一部揭晓的主竞赛单元作品是安德烈·萨金塞夫的新电影《无爱可诉》。因为反政府题材作品《利维坦》而在国际上名声大振的萨金塞夫在俄罗斯的生存状况却不怎么好，俄罗斯文化部已经不再资助其拍摄电影，因此这部新电影没有获得俄罗斯的官方支持，而是选择与德国、法国和比利时共同拍摄，欧盟电影协会也对其进行资助。弗雷莫在揭晓入围名单时，直言俄罗斯的电影行业正在复兴。

美国前副总统戈尔主演的《难以忽视的真相2》也将在本届电影节上进行展映，该片记录了戈尔环游世界开办讲座，以唤起人们对气候变化的关注，呼吁人们和政府使用可再生能源。另外一部政治题材的作品来自于瓦妮莎·雷德格瑞夫的《海之悲》，聚焦了难民问题。

3. ELLE China (2)

Article in ELLE China magazine, “155CM and thick legs, means no way to get through the summer? I see how beautiful she is though!”.⁵¹⁰

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
CM	/	Centimeter (cm)	zero translation	
Vanessa Hudgens	/	Vanessa Hudgens	zero translation of proper name	
娇小 MM	jiāoxiǎo-MM	Fr. Petite mademoiselle*	zero translation + Chinese morpheme	jiāoxiǎo 娇小 ‘petite’, ‘delicate’
Isabel Marant Etoile	/	Isabel Marant Etoile	zero translation of brand name	
Citizens of Humanity	/	Citizens of Humanity	zero translation of brand name	
牛仔裤	niúzǎikù	jeans pants	free translation	literally ‘cowboy pants’
By Far	/	By Far	zero translation of brand name	
Gucci	/	Gucci	zero translation of brand name	

⁵¹⁰ Serena (2017, April 18). 155CM tuǐ cū jiù méi fǎguò xiàtiānle? Wǒ kàn tā tǐng měi a! 155CM+腿粗就没法过夏天了? 我看她挺美啊! (“155CM and thick legs, means no way to get through the summer? I see how beautiful she is though!”) *Elle China*. Retrieved from <http://www.ellechina.com>.


手袋	shǒudài	handbag	loan translation	morpheme-for-morpheme translation
科切拉	Kēqièlā	Coachella (festival)	proper name	transliteration
波西米亚	bōxīmìyà	bohemian	transliteration	
洛杉矶	Luòshānjī	Los Angeles	proper name	transliteration

155CM+腿粗就没法过夏天了？我看她挺美啊！

来源：ELLE中文网

2017-04-18 14:46

编辑：Serena

分享到 

身高155CM且不算纤细的Vanessa Hudgens一直都是很多个子娇小MM的穿衣模板。她平时穿衣却从不会给自己设限，小个子觉得难穿的长裙、长外套、阔腿裤等，她都能穿得很好看。究竟她有什么秘诀呢？

标签：爸爸去哪儿 包包 手机壳 白色 华伦天奴 巴黎世家 沈傲君 杜嘉班纳 松糕鞋 帆布包

155CM的“街拍女王”最近在穿什么？

其实之前我们也给大家介绍过Vanessa Hudgens的穿搭，不过最近她又有一波全新的街拍“上线”，比如身着Isabel Marant Etoile白上衣搭配Citizens of Humanity剪边牛仔裤与By Far穆勒鞋，简单大气。

或是米色吊带长裙搭配Gucci手袋+缎面拖鞋，随性舒适又不失时髦度。

参加热火朝天的科切拉音乐节，一身波西米亚装扮活力十足又不失性感。

常年生活在洛杉矶的Vanessa给即将入夏的我们提供了很多穿衣经验，她的私服也都是以适度露肤为主，相当容易模仿。

4. 光明日报

Article in Guangming Daily newspaper (*Guāngmíng Rìbào* 光明日报), “The City Bureau at Weisheng prohibits spouses of immigrant workers to help at the bazaar food-and-drink center”.⁵¹¹

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
巴刹	bāshā	Bazaar (Persian ‘bazar’)	transliteration	Also 巴扎 <i>bāzhā</i> .
PR	/	Permanent Residents (PR)	zero translation	
拿督麦慕娜	Nádūmàimùnà	(Malaysian name)	proper name	

威省市局**巴刹**、飲食中心 禁外勞 外籍配偶幫手

即時新聞 2017-04-25 14:51



enlarge

(大山脚25日讯) 威省市政局今日宣佈，今年6月1日起將全面禁止轄下巴刹、飲食中心及路邊攤業者僱用外籍勞工或永久居民**(PR)** 成為檔口助手，包括本地人的外籍配偶或持有永久居留權的配偶，一律禁用。

威省市政局主**席拿督麥慕娜**指出，外勞控制州內商業活動的情況愈來愈嚴重，儘管該局聯合移民廳及其他執法單位常期展開取締行動，但這項課題仍然引起熱議。

因此，該局建議從今年6月開始，在相關的

商業單位與活動，落實這項更具體的政策。

“很多本地業者濫用這項權力，把生意交給外勞打理或出租給外勞。我們希望這項新政策落實後，能為本地人提供更多就業機會。”

她強調，即使是持有合法工作證的外勞，從6月開始，也不允許在市政局管轄的巴刹、小販中心或路邊攤工作。

⁵¹¹ (Unknown) (2017, April 25). Wēishěng shìjù bāshā, yǐnshí zhōngxīn jìn wàiláo wàiji pèi'ǒu bāngshǒu 威省市局巴刹、飲食中心 禁外勞 外籍配偶幫手 (“The City Bureau at Weisheng prohibits spouses of immigrant workers to help at the bazaar food-and-drink center”). *Guangming Ribao*. Retrieved from <http://www.guangming.com.my>.

5. 京郊日报

Article in Beijing Suburbs Daily newspaper (*Jingjiāo Ribào* 京郊日报), “Beijing, Tianjin, and Hebei cooperatively send out environmental standards”.⁵¹²

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
颗粒物	kēlìwù	particulate matter (PM)	semantic translation	
PM	/	Particulate Matter (PM)	zero translation	
臭氧*	chòuyǎng	ozone	semantic translation	

京津冀合发环保标准

来源：京郊日报 2017年04月17日 版次：01 作者：|

本报讯（记者高珊珊）家庭装修、建筑施工，选用建筑涂料与胶粘剂时，不用担心再被“无甲醛”“环保漆”等广告语忽悠。京津冀三地日前首次联合发布环保领域统一标准，即《建筑类涂料与胶粘剂挥发性有机化合物含量限值标准》，对生产、销售、使用建筑类涂料与胶粘剂的各个环节予以全方位规范。今年9月1日起，该标准在三地同步实施。

无论是盖房修路，还是居室装修，做卫生间防水、安装门墙橱柜，都要使用建筑涂料和胶粘剂。而涂料与胶粘剂中的甲醛等挥发性有机物对人体健康的危害，令不少消费者在挑选建筑涂料和胶粘剂时感到头疼。不仅如此，挥发性有机物还是细颗粒物（PM2.5）和臭氧的重要前体物。随着城市化进程，建筑类涂料与胶粘剂在使用中产生的挥发性有机物无

⁵¹² (Unknown) (2017, April 17). *Jing jīn jì héfā huánbǎo biāozhǔn* 京津冀合发环保标准 (“Beijing, Tianjin, and Hebei cooperatively send out environmental standards”). *Jingjiao Ribao*. Retrieved from <http://jjrb.bjd.com.cn>.

组织排放，已成为挥发性有机物污染的主要来源之一。

为此，京津冀三地共同制定统一的强制性标准，并适当提高了建筑涂料和胶粘剂中挥发性有机物含量限值标准，达到国内最严水平。该标准实施后，将减少建筑类涂料和胶粘剂挥发性有机物排放量20%以上。

6. 恋爱婚姻家庭

Article in Love-Marriage-Family magazine (*Liàn'ài Hūnyīn Jiātíng* 恋爱婚姻家庭), “The most important function of this anti-radiation clothing”.⁵¹³

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
手机	shǒujī	mobile phone	free translation	lit. ‘hand machine’
电脑	diànnǎo	computer	free translation	lit. ‘electric brain’
妈咪们	māmīmen	mommies	transliteration	Transliteration of ‘mommy’ <i>māmī</i> 妈咪 + Chinese morpheme <i>men</i> 们 to indicate plural.
X光	X-guāng	X-ray	zero translation + Chinese morpheme	
CT	/	Computerized Tomography (CT)	zero translation	
DNA	/	DeoxyriboNucleic Acid (DNA)	zero translation	
电视	diànshì	television	free translation	lit. ‘electric watching’
微波炉	wēibōlú	microwave oven	loan translation	morpheme-for-morpheme translation
收音机	shōuyīnjī	radio	free translation	lit. ‘receives-sound-machine’
烤箱	kǎoxiāng	oven	free translation	lit. ‘baking box’
电吹风	diànchuīfēng	hair dryer	free translation	lit. ‘electric blowing hair’
太阳灶	tàiyángzào	solar cooker	loan translation	morpheme-for-morpheme translation

⁵¹³ (Unknown) (2017, March 13). Zào ma zhè shì fáng fúshè fú de zuìdà zuòyòng 造吗这是防辐射服的最大作用 (“The most important function of this anti-radiation clothing”). *Lianai Hunyīn Jiātíng*. Retrieved from <http://www.lian1986.com>.

电磁波	diàncíbō	electromagnetic wave	loan translation	morpheme-for-morpheme translation
厘米	lími	centimeter (li = centi)	loanblend	semantic part 厘 lí 'centi-' + phonetic part 米 mǐ

造吗这是防辐射服的最大作用

发表于：2016-03-14 来源：未知 作者：admin 阅读数：67

科技时代生活，手机电脑离不了，准妈咪们不免为辐射而担忧。因此，市面上催生出了一大批保命延寿的产品，其中就包括我们今天的主角：孕妇防辐射服。如今防辐射孕妇服甚至已经成为不少

[文章导读]

科技时代生活，手机电脑离不了，准妈咪们不免为辐射而担忧。因此，市面上催生出了一大批保命延寿的产品，其中就包括我们今天的主角：孕妇防辐射服。如今防辐射孕妇服甚至已经成为不少准妈的必备用品，但是，这些防护服是否真的具备防辐射的功效呢？

短短的几年时间，各类防辐射服大量涌入市场，销量节节攀升。而之前央视新闻频道制作播出的《“防辐射服防辐射”谎言？》节目让防辐射问题再一次成为公众关注的话题。在防辐射服是否有效的讨论之外，我们还应该思考的是：这防辐射服到底需不需要？

防辐射服到底能防住什么？

辐射分为电离辐射和非电离辐射，X光、CT等能量巨大，能够改变DNA结构的射线，称为电离辐射，超过规定剂量后，对人体确实有比较大的伤害。那么另外一类能量不那么大的辐射，就叫做非电离辐射，生活中常见的辐射源，包括电脑、手机、电视、微波炉、收音机、烤箱、电吹风.....都属于非电离辐射的范围。

这就是说，我们普罗大众接触到的，往往是非电离辐射。防辐射服主要的‘卖点’，其实是为肚子里的宝宝，遮挡或者屏蔽一部分非电离辐射。

非电离辐射，对宝宝的危害究竟是什么？

明确了这一点后，我们先不讨论防辐射服能不能挡住非电离辐射；更重要的问题是，知道手机、电脑、电视、微波炉这些东西带来的辐射，到底对准妈妈和宝宝们有没有害，有害在哪里。

首先，从阳光到微波炉、烤箱、手机、电脑等家电，这些非电离辐射在准妈妈身体上，最明显的效用是——加热！没错，就是加热。比如用**太阳灶**把太阳能汇聚起来，让物体吸收可见光，产生热量，来烧饭烧菜烧水；烤箱则主要利用了红外辐射来加热物体；微波炉则属于微波辐射，用**电磁波**让水分子等振荡起来、碰撞起来，运动着的分子就能使物体迅速加热了。

上面提到的那些辐射，穿透能力也就在**厘米级**。因此，以微波炉、烤箱的辐射会危害孕妈咪为由，逃避做饭，这是不具有说服力的哟。

防辐射服到底有效吗？

问题回到了防辐射服，它到底有没有用，该不该买呢？有店员会介绍说，防辐射服是采用金属纤维混合织物制成的，所以肯定是能防住一部分辐射的。

从物理学上判断，这个说法是有道理的。但是有人用最朴素的办法试验了一下，用防辐射服整个包住手机，手机信号就减弱或者干脆没有了；但如果只是遮挡一下，手机信号似乎并没有太大的变化。所以足见防辐射服降低辐射的效果，大概也就那样。更何况，上面提到的这些辐射，只要在正常生活使用的范围之内，本来就是无害的，所以防一点、减轻一点，又有什么意义呢？

专家提醒：防辐射服基本无用

许多店家向顾客宣传推销防护服时，都对产品质量给予肯定，并强调是权威机构认证的合格产品。对此，质监部门表示，目前，有关防辐射服装的国家标准尚未出台，现在市面上的此类服装依据的都是企业的生产标准。

有专家表示，防辐射服对胎儿的防护作用到底有多大，目前还没有临床实验证明。市面上大多数防辐射孕妇服靠抓住孕妇及其家人“孩子输不起”的心理才能如此畅销，“实际上根本没有多大作用”。

“准妈妈”：买了就为图个安心

其实，防辐射服最大的作用也就是告诉身边人：这个女人怀！孕！了！该让座快让座，该躲远点躲远点，这就是最大的功效！

最后，天然辐射“防不胜防”，也无须去防

1. 目前没有证据表明日常非电离辐射会导致孕妇流产率、胎儿畸形率的提高，也不会导致新生儿出生体重过低；

2. 只有很微弱的证据表明某些日常非电离辐射与某些疾病的发病相关，但无法证明其因果关系；

3. 日常生活中也存在一定量的天然电离辐射，但剂量在人体可接受范围内，无须恐慌。

如果换成日常的话语体系，结论只有一句话：防辐射服是个坑爹玩意儿，大家还是把钱花在其他地方吧。

7. 人民日报 (1)

Article in People's Daily (*Rénmín Ribào* 人民日报), "Film festival gives domestic movies a new boost – demonstration of the final film 'Master of Memory'"⁵¹⁴

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
动画电影	dòng huà diàn yǐng	animation movie	free translation	lit. 'electric image of moving pictures'
IP	/	Intellectual Property (IP)	zero translation	
3D	sān-D	Three-Dimensional (3D)	zero translation	

电影节助推国产电影新力量 闭幕片《记忆大师》亮相

2017年04月21日07:42 来源: 北京晨报

分享到: 

原标题: 电影节助推国产电影新力量 闭幕片《记忆大师》领衔新片亮相



北京国际电影节不仅是世界电影人互相交流的节日、观众和优秀电影近距离接触的佳期,也是国产电影展现自我风采的舞台。第七届北京国际电影节别出心裁地选择了《喜欢你》和《记忆大师》两部国产新片作为开闭幕电影,体现了对国产电影新力量的大力扶持。昨日,闭幕片《记忆大师》在北影节上首映,导演陈正道表示,希望在电影的类型上多做尝试,因为目前市场上的类型电影还是不够丰富的。事实上,本届北影节上亮相的国产新片类型从悬疑、喜剧、爱情、玄幻等商业类型片到比较文艺小众的纪录片,再到动画电影.....已经比目前市场上正在上映的电影更加丰富多元,也展现出电影人在这方面的努力。

商业类型领跑忙

电影《记忆大师》讲述了未来世界一场由于错误的记忆存取手术而引发的追凶谜局,主演包括了黄渤、段奕宏等实力派影星。导演陈正道和观众交流时这样解读电影主题:“记忆被篡改最大的意义是能够看到记忆在不同人的性格中会产生不同的效果。”陈正道称,《记忆大师》是自己拍得最辛苦、最纠结的一部片子,我“不确定这样做好不好,得等第一批观众感觉出炉了才知道这次是美好的回忆还是什么样的回忆”。从《幸福额度》到《重返20岁》,再到《记忆大师》,陈正道电影作品的风格一路变化多端,他称自己一直在尝试不同类型的商业片。

⁵¹⁴ Wen Lu 璐温 & Li Yan 李岩 (2017, April 21). Diànyǐng jié zhù tuī guóchǎn diànyǐng xīn lìliàng bì mù piàn 'jì yì dà shī' liàngxiàng 电影节助推国产电影新力量 闭幕片《记忆大师》亮相 ("Film festival gives domestic movies a new boost – demonstration of the final film 'Master of Memory'"). *Renminwang*. Retrieved from <http://www.people.com.cn>.

《神秘家族》和《记忆大师》同为悬疑类型，但不同的是，《神秘家族》根据真实案件改编，更具时代特征。片中，林依晨饰演的苗苗在遭遇不幸后一心想要寻找整个事件的真相，没想到追凶路上困难重重。片中林依晨颠覆以往正面、阳光的形象，饰演一位在雨夜遭遇强暴的17岁少女。林依晨表示，她希望用自己对角色的演绎，带给观众更多的思考。

汇集了徐申东、元华、苑琼丹、陈德容、张兆辉等实力派演员的《泡菜爱上小龙虾》走的是美食题材喜剧类型片的路子，主演在北影节开幕红毯上带着一只道具“龙虾”亮相吸引了不少眼球。导演虞军豪表示，《泡菜爱上小龙虾》是用诚意之心奉献给观众的好故事。

IP改编的奇幻类型片《鲛珠传》以九州大陆为故事背景，讲述了飞贼泥空空（王大陆饰）、捕快黑羽（张天爱饰）、神秘少年蛤蜊（盛冠森饰）三人共同对抗羽族后裔的故事。奇幻的类型注定了《鲛珠传》会有大量的特效镜头，这也是王大陆首次挑战无实物表演。他坦言，无实物表演需要时刻保持演员的专注，等到熟悉之后就完全是一种新的体验，“感觉很棒”。

新人新作获支持

除传统商业类型新片外，《我心雀跃》、《艺术也疯狂》等新人新作也成了北影节上的亮点。

《我心雀跃》是女导演刘紫微的处女作，讲述了一个发生在上世纪90年代，青春期少女对自己的老师情窦初开的故事。该片在北影节放映之后获得了观众的认可。《我心雀跃》从筹拍伊始就获得很多影坛前辈的支持，导演田壮壮担当艺术顾问，摄影师侯勇担任摄影指导，剪辑由获得金马奖的杨红雨担任。田壮壮还亲临首映现场，分享他对“少女心”的理解——“少女心这东西太懵懂太朦胧，暗恋一个人就像睡觉一样美，有时候睡不着有时候睡不醒。”

《艺术也疯狂》的导演蔡玉水也是首次执导电影，但他的另一个身份是北京画院画家，国家一级美术师，雕塑家。蔡玉水在《艺术也疯狂》里讲述了跟他职业相关的故事——“一幅画搅翻一个镇，一个镇洗涤一颗心”。蔡玉水直言：“电影里有我这些年对当下社会现象以及喧闹的艺术热潮的观察与思考。我想通过摄影机镜头这个更有利的画笔，贬斥当今那些被金钱私利所驱使，坑蒙拐骗，道德迷失的社会现象，呼唤亲情、友情、人性的回归。”

小众类型也出彩

相较于投资更大、明星更多、受众也更广的商业类型片，动画片、纪录片等都算是小众的类型了。本届电影节上亮相的国产动画电影迄今为止只有一部——《豆福传》，片方宣布定档今年7月7日。《豆福传》取材于中国传统文化中汉代淮南王刘安的故事，脱胎于“刘安做豆腐，因错而成”这一典故，讲述了主人公“豆福”欢乐而又励志的修仙故事。导演邹燚透露，《豆福传》能够问世，靠的也是自己和电影中的角色“豆福”一样的坚持，最艰难的时候团队全部走光，只剩下自己一个人。“再渺小的梦想，因坚持而伟大。”邹燚认为动画片不仅要把技术做好，还要把故事讲好，打动观众，并且应该做自己文化的传承者。

《七十七天》是国内首部户外题材3D探险剧情片，由赵汉唐执导，江一燕主演。据导演介绍，该片的拍摄地平均海拔高达5000米，最高海拔6700米，成为华语电影史上“最高难度”的电影。电影改编自真人真事——上海青年杨柳松以自行车为运载工具，携带有限的给养孤身徒步77天，经历了难以想象的生死考验，横穿羌塘无人区。江一燕在电影中刻意扮丑，并坦言这是从影以来最艰难、最艰苦的一次拍摄，同时也是最享受的一次拍摄。“磨难可以激发潜力，我的人生很幸运，遇到一些很特别的人和角色，这次可以很纯粹地拍一部电影，现在这样的作品不多了。”

(责编：温璐、李岩)

8. 人民日报 (2)

Article in People's Daily (*Rénmín Rìbào* 人民日报), "Pay close attention to the yearly work and strive to create a new situation in the work of the people".⁵¹⁵

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
合影*	héyǐng	a joint (group) photo	semantic translation?	

⁵¹⁵ Wang Jingqian 王婧倩 (2017, April 24). Zhuājǐn zhuā shí niándù gè xiàng gōngzuò nǚlì kāichuàng bùduì gōngzuò xīn júmiàn 抓紧抓实年度各项工作努力开创部队工作新局面 ("Pay close attention to the yearly work and strive to create a new situation in the work of the people"). *Renminwang*. Retrieved from <http://www.people.com.cn>.

习近平在视察南部战区陆军机关时强调

抓紧抓实年度各项工作 努力开创部队工作新局面

2017年04月24日 11:06

来源：人民网-人民日报

新华社南宁4月22日电（记者李宣良、王洪山）中共中央总书记、国家主席、中央军委主席习近平21日视察南部战区陆军机关，强调要以党在新形势下的强军目标为引领，贯彻新形势下军事战略方针，坚持稳中求进工作总基调，坚持政治建军、改革强军、依法治军，求真务实，开拓创新，真抓实干，扎扎实实落实好军委部署的各项工作任务，努力开创部队工作新局面，以优异成绩迎接党的十九大召开。

邕江水暖，绿城飞花，4月的南宁满目葱郁，生机盎然。上午9时30分许，习近平来到南部战区陆军机关，亲切接见驻广西部队师以上领导干部、驻南宁部队团级单位主官和南部战区陆军机关正团职干部，同大家合影留念。

合影结束后，习近平听取了南部战区陆军工作情况汇报，并发表重要讲话。习近平强调，今年在党和国家发展进程中具有特殊重要的意义，要抓紧抓实思想政治建设工作，抓紧抓实练兵备战工作，抓紧抓实部队改革工作。

习近平强调，要旗帜鲜明讲政治，坚定不移增强“四个意识”，坚决维护党中央权威，毫不动摇坚持党对军队绝对领导，深入贯彻古田全军政治工作会议精神，全面彻底肃清郭伯雄、徐才厚流毒影响，严肃政治纪律和政治规矩，确保部队在任何时候任何情况下都坚决听从党中央和中央军委指挥。要扎实开展主题教育活动，打牢坚持党对军队绝对领导的思想根基，强化投身强军事业的政治自觉。要扎实推进“两学一做”学习教育常态化制度化，把“两学一做”学习教育融入日常、抓在经常。要扎实推进作风建设和反腐败斗争，着力纠治官兵身边的“微腐败”和不正之风，增强官兵满意度和获得感。

习近平指出，要强化战斗队意识，立起打仗的鲜明导向，密切关注局势变化，真抓实干，常备不懈，确保随时拉得出、上得去、打得赢。要坚持问题导向，紧贴作战任务、作战对手、作战环境，深化作战问题研究，有针对性地做工作，一个问题一个问题去分析解决，带动练兵备战水平提升。

习近平强调，要正确把握战区军种机关职能定位，确保作战指挥顺畅、建设管理高效。要大胆解放思想，加强实践探索，加快推动战区联合作战指挥体系建设。要周密做好规模结构和力量编成改革各项工作，确保改革有力有序推进、按时按质完成。要贯彻陆军转型建设要求，大力发展新型作战力量，加快提升部队战斗力。要落实军民融合发展战略，推动国防实力和经济发展同步提升。要加快转变职能、转变作风、转变工作方式，充分释放改革效能。

习近平叮嘱各级高度重视抓基层打基础，贯彻依法治军、从严治军方针，严格教育管理部队，满腔热忱关心关爱官兵，确保部队高度集中统一和安全稳定，不断把部队建设和战斗力的基础打牢夯实。

习近平叮嘱各级高度重视抓基层打基础，贯彻依法治军、从严治军方针，严格教育管理部队，满腔热忱关心关爱官兵，确保部队高度集中统一和安全稳定，不断把部队建设和战斗力的基础打牢夯实。

范长龙等陪同视察。

《人民日报》（2017年04月23日 01版）

（责编：王婧倩）

9. 人民日报 (3)

Article in People's Daily (*Rénmín Ribào* 人民日报), "IMF: The global financial stability continually improves".⁵¹⁶

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
IMF	/	International Monetary Fund (IMF)	zero translation	
国际货币基金组织	Guójì Huòbì Jījīn Zǔzhī	International Monetary Fund	semantic translation + category	semantic translation + category <i>zǔzhī</i> 组织 'organisation'
美国	Měiguó	America	proper name	Transliteration + category (<i>guó</i> 国 'land'). Literally 'beautiful land'.

IMF : 全球金融稳定状况持续改善

周武英

2017年04月21日08:04 来源: 经济参考报

原标题: IMF: 全球金融稳定状况持续改善

国际货币基金组织19日发布了今年上半年《全球金融稳定报告》。报告指出, 自去年10月以来, 全球金融稳定状况持续改善, 而中国在其中扮演了重要角色。

报告称, 随着经济增长加快, 以及利率上升令银行获利改善, 过去六个月金融稳定性所面临的风险总体下降。但全球政治和政策不确定性增加, 对金融稳定构成新的威胁。

报告认为, 如果美国的税改和放松监管等措施没有达到预期效果, 市场风险溢价和波动性可能会大幅上升, 从而破坏金融稳定。美国和其他发达国家转向贸易保护主义, 还可能降低贸易和资本流动, 减缓经济增长并打击市场信心。

对于中国, 报告称, 中国长期配合国际社会进行金融体系内的制度调整, 这有助于构建国内、国际的双重经济稳定性。(周武英)

(责编: 孙博洋、乔雪峰)

⁵¹⁶ Sun Boyang 孙博洋 & Qiao Xuefeng 乔雪峰 (2017, April 21). IMF: Quánqiú jīnróng wěndìng zhuàngkuàng chíxù gǎishàn IMF: 全球金融稳定状况持续改善 ("IMF: The global financial stability continually improves"). *Renminwang*. Retrieved from <http://www.people.com.cn>.

10. 新周刊

Article in New Weekly (*Xīn Zhōukān* 新周刊), “How to recognize a fake SUV”.⁵¹⁷

Chinese loanword	Pinyin	English source word	Category	Remarks
SUV	/	SUV (Sport Utility Vehicle)	zero translation	
MPV	/	MPV (Multiple Purpose Vehicle)	zero translation	
sports	/	sports	zero translation	
马力	mǎlì	horse power	loan translation	morpheme-for-morpheme translation
L	/	L (liter)	zero translation	
发动机	fādòngjī	engine, motor	free translation	lit. ‘machine to mobilize’
沃尔沃 XC90	Wò'ěr wò	Volvo XC 90	brand name + zero translation	Favorable meaning of the morphemes used in the translated brand name for ‘Volvo’ cars: wò 沃 ‘fertile’, ‘rich’. Zero translation for the car model.
奥迪 Q7	Àodí	Audi Q7	brand name + zero translation	Favorable meaning of the morphemes used in the translated brand name for ‘Audi’ cars: dí 迪 ‘enlighten’, Zero translation for the car model.
T	/	T (engine model)	zero translation	
空调	kōngtiáo	airconditioning	semantic translation	Abbreviation of the semantic translation <i>kōngqì tiáojié</i> 空气调节, lit. ‘regulation of the air’.

⁵¹⁷ Wu Sibe 邬思蓓 (2017, March). Rúhé jiànbíe yī tái wěi SUV 如何鉴别一台伪 SUV (“How to recognize a fake SUV”). *Xin Zhou Kan*. Retrieved from <http://www.newweekly.com.cn>.

如何鉴别一台伪SUV?

文/邹思蓓
<<新周刊>>第471期

如果要选一款中国人最喜欢的车型，肯定是SUV，许多汽车厂家靠一台SUV就能吃几年。在中国，多数消费者购车的第一需求就是“大”，外观尺寸、内部空间都要大，前排、后排都要大。尺寸大可以满足虚荣心，特别是对于男性来讲，大气、气派、派头这些的出发点都是“大”；空间大可以满足不爱系安全带的国人的特殊癖好，众多车厂把新款车型引入国内的第一个动作就是加长，这也催生了大量“中国特供车”，而在头部空间上占有巨大优势的SUV当然更受欢迎。

然而，就在我们口口声声把“SUV”挂在嘴边的时候，有没有想过这些卖疯了的车到底算不算一台真正意义上的SUV？花8万和花80万买到的都是SUV吗？可能我们需要“不忘初心”地来安静思考一下，究竟什么样的车才符合SUV的定义。

首先，让我们“回到原点”来审视一下SUV。

SUV (Sport Utility Vehicle)，翻译过来就是运动型多用途汽车，介于轿车、越野车及MPV之间，兼备轿车的舒适性、越野车的越野能力及MPV的空间组合功能。在伪SUV盛行、跨界车众多的今天，光看定义很难搞清谁是SUV，谁是伪SUV。其实要鉴别伪SUV很简单，只要弄清SUV与越野车、跨界车的区别，你马上就会惊奇发现不是每一辆长得像SUV的车都是SUV。

没有六缸也好意思出门？

SUV的第一个要素就是sports，也就是运动性好。大马力、大扭矩是必须的，这样才能用充沛的动力去征服各种路况。城市内起步要轻松优雅、高速上超车要畅快从容、越野时脱困要气定神闲，这些都离不开一台大功率发动机的支持，3.0L六缸以上（含）的才算是够格的，而SUV这种车型刚出来那会儿，八缸基本都是标配。

虽说如今的趋势是发动机小排量化，但是小马拉大车这种情况还是不应该出现在SUV上——1.6、1.5这种排量的发动机就算再先进也没有办法提供充沛动力，只能算是够用而已，根本谈不上运动性。而那些大尺寸的SUV，比如沃尔沃XC90、新奥迪Q7这种，在配备了2.0T发动机以后，基本都卖得不怎么样，因为从直观感受上，消费者就认为这类装配小排量发动机的豪华SUV已经不具备豪华车的基本特质。

对于一些自主品牌，发动机更是致命短板。排量小，可靠性还差，你买回家的那台看起来很像SUV的车搭载的可能就是台“小面”的发动机，上个坡、开个空调都会喘，你还指望它能征服各种路况？可靠性方面更是噩梦，小毛病不断大毛病不少，随时可能把你抛在路上，你还敢开它出去游山玩水？不过这类车最大的优势在于维修和保养都非常便宜，还能增加你修车知识。

在环保和排放要求越来越严苛的形势下，大排量发动机可能会越来越少，SUV也和大排量车一样被划归到不够环保的范畴，所以在未来再出现八缸SUV的可能性并不大。这类环保车的反面典型将来的唯一出路，可能就是变成有钱人的玩具，而这恰好能让SUV车型回到最原始的初衷，再也不会像现在这样满街跑。

11. 音乐周报

Article in Music Weekly magazine (*Yīnyuè Zhōubào* 音乐周报), “Lucia di Lammermoor opens the 2017 opera festival”.⁵¹⁸

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
拉美莫尔的露琪亚	Lāměimò'ěr de lùqíyà	Lucia di Lammermoor	proper name	
丹尼尔·欧伦	Dānní'ěr Ōulún	Daniel Oren	proper name	
马林斯基	Mǎlínsījī	Malinsky	proper name	
多尼采蒂	Duōnicǎidì	(Gaetano) Donizetti	proper name	
阿依达	Āyīdá	Aida	proper name	
参孙	Cānsūn	Samson	proper name	
达丽拉	Dálīlā	Delilah	proper name	

《拉美莫尔的露琪亚》揭幕歌剧节·2017

发布时间: 2017-04-13 14:48

文章来源:

网络编辑: 李茹

由指挥家丹尼尔·欧伦执棒, 国家大剧院与马林斯基剧院联合制作多尼采蒂歌剧《拉美莫尔的露琪亚》于4月9日晚在北京天桥艺术中心迎来首演, 并为国家大剧院歌剧节·2017揭幕。10日, 该剧由张立萍、石倚洁、张扬、田浩江等中国歌唱家倾情演绎。本轮演出持续至12日。

国家大剧院开幕运营近十年来, 已成功举办了八届歌剧节。国家大剧院歌剧节·2017以“交融·回响”为主题, 将在92天的时间里, 为观众带来8台29场精彩演出与丰富多彩的歌剧主题活动。

在歌剧节期间, 为了让歌剧艺术走近百姓身边, 国家大剧院还将一如既往地举办丰富多元的歌剧主题活动。6月起, “2017国家大剧院国际歌剧电影展”将拉开帷幕, 国内外知名剧院的29部精选歌剧电影将在十个一线城市相继展映。除此之外, 国家大剧院出品的歌剧电影《阿依达》、《参孙与达丽拉》还将亮相第七届北京国际电影节。

本届歌剧节还将举办“国家大剧院建院十周年歌剧创作与制作研讨会”。

⁵¹⁸ Li Ru 李茹 (2017, March 13). ‘Lāměimò’ěr de lùqíyà’ jiēmù gējù jié 2017 《拉美莫尔的露琪亚》揭幕歌剧节 2017 (“Lucia di Lammermoor opens the 2017 opera festival”). *Yinyue Zhoubao*. Retrieved from <http://mw.bjd.com.cn>.

12. 中国科技网 (1)

Article in Chinese Science and Technology Online (*Zhōngguó Kējì Wǎng* 中国科技网), “New discovery of NASA’s maritime satellite”.⁵¹⁹

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
NASA	/	National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)	zero translation	
美国宇航局	Měiguó Yǔhángjú	American Aeronautics and Space Administration	semantic translation	
美国	Měiguó	America	proper name	Transliteration + category (<i>guó</i> 国 ‘land’). Literally ‘beautiful land’.
卡西尼	Kǎxīní	Cassini	proper name	
哈勃太空望远镜	Hābó Tàikōng Wàngyuǎnjìng	Hubble Space Telescope	proper name + free translation	- ‘Hubble’ <i>hābó</i> : transliteration - ‘Space’ <i>tàikōng</i> : Japanese loan - ‘Telescope’ <i>wàngyuǎnjìng</i> : free translation, lit. ‘mirror to look far’
地幔*	dìmàn	the earth’s mantle	semantic translation	This word is possibly a phono-semantic loan, as <i>màn</i> 幔 (lit. ‘screen’, ‘curtain’) sounds like the English ‘mantle’.

⁵¹⁹ Zhang Xiaohui 张晓卉 (2017, April 13). NASA tàncè “hǎiyáng wèixīng” yǒu xīn fāxiàn NASA 探测“海洋卫星”有新发现 (“New discovery of NASA’s maritime satellite”). *Zhongguo Keji Wang*. Retrieved from <http://www.stdaily.com>.

NASA探测“海洋卫星”有新发现

2017-04-13 09:58:02 来源: 中国新闻网 作者:



NASA

“海洋卫星”

中新网4月12日电 据香港《文汇报》报道,美国宇航局(NASA)将于美国东岸时间13日下午2时召开记者会,公布土星探测器“卡西尼”号和哈勃太空望远镜最新发现。

由于多名“卡西尼”号团队成员均会出席,外界猜测记者会内容可能与“卡西尼”号曾经探索的木星卫星“木卫二”或土星卫星“土卫二”有关,其中木卫二冰层下存在庞大海洋,因此也有人猜测,NASA或宣布找到外星生命证据。

NASA指,新发现将有助未来探测外星海洋计划,包括计划于2020年代展开的“木卫二飞艇”任务,以及搜寻地球外生命。公众可在记者会进行期间于网上发问。

科学家相信,木卫二就像地球一样,拥有由铁组成的地核和地幔,以及比地球更深、更多水的海洋,只是由于木卫二距太阳约8亿公里,导致海面全部结冰。

不过专家认为在木星引力影响下,潮汐力足以让木卫二的冰下海洋保持温暖,加上海洋或与地幔接触,有机会引发多种化学反应,有利孕育生命。

责任编辑: 张晓卉

13. 中国科技网 (2)

Article in Chinese Science and Technology Online (*Zhōngguó Kējì Wǎng* 中国科技网), “China successfully launched its 13th communications satellite”.⁵²⁰

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
激光	jīguāng	laser	semantic translation	
G	/	Generation (G)	zero translation	
B 平台	B-píngtái	B-platform	zero translation + Chinese morphemes	

⁵²⁰ Zhang Xiaohui 张晓卉 (2017, April 13). Zhōngguó chénggōng fāshè shí sān hào tōngxìn wèixīng 中国成功发射实践十三号通信卫星 (“China successfully launched its 13th communications satellite”). *Zhongguo Keji Wang*. Retrieved from <http://www.stdaily.com>.

Ka 通信	ka-tōngxìn	Ka-communication	zero translation + Chinese morphemes	
媒体	méitǐ	media	phono-semantic	Literally ‘intermediary system’
美国	Měiguó	America	proper name	Transliteration + category (<i>guó</i> 国 ‘land’). Literally ‘beautiful land’.
Ka 频段	ka-pínduàn	Ka-band	zero translation + Chinese morphemes	

中国成功发射实践十三号通信卫星

2017-04-13 09:51:54 来源: 中新社 作者: 张素 邱学雷

4月12日19时04分, 中国西昌卫星发射中心成功发射实践十三号卫星。实践十三号卫星是中国首颗高通量通信卫星, 这颗卫星首次在高轨道上应用激光通信和电推进等技术, 通信总容量达206以上, 超过我国此前所有通信卫星容量的总和。叶乐峰 摄

中新社西昌4月12日电 (张素 邱学雷)12日19时04分, 中国在西昌卫星发射中心用长征三号乙运载火箭成功发射实践十三号卫星。这是中国第一颗高通量通信卫星, 真正实现自主通信卫星的的宽带应用。

实践十三号卫星是东方红三号B平台全配置首发星, 设计寿命15年。中国国家国防科技工业局系统工程司副司长赵坚说, 实践十三号卫星突破了电推进、Ka通信载荷、高轨激光通信等制约中国航天技术跨越发展的一系列关键技术, 将在轨实现东方红三号B平台功能和性能指标考核, 开展中国宽带多媒体卫星通信系统业务试验。

实践十三号卫星完成试验验证后, 将纳入“中星”卫星系列, 命名为中星十六号卫星。中国也将成为继美国等少数发达国家后掌握Ka频段宽带通信这一先进技术的国家, 可为通信设施不发达地区的用户提供优良宽带服务, 还能促进宽带卫星通信在高铁、船舶、飞机等移动载体以及企业联网、应急通信等领域的应用。

实践十三号卫星创造了中国通信卫星多个“首次”: 首次在高轨卫星工程化应用自主研制的电推进系统, 完成南北位保任务, 大幅提高有效载荷装载比和卫星在轨寿命; 首次应用Ka频段多波束宽带通信载荷, 通信总容量超过中国已研制发射的通信卫星容量总和; 首次开展中国高轨卫星与地面的双向激光通信技术试验; 首次在中国高轨长寿命通信卫星上百分之百工程化应用国产化产品。

实践十三号卫星工程由中国国家国防科技工业局组织实施。卫星、运载火箭分别由中国航天科技集团公司中国空间技术研究院、中国运载火箭技术研究院研制, 地面测控系统由西安卫星测控中心负责, 运控和试验应用系统由中国卫通集团有限公司负责。此次发射任务是长征系列运载火箭的第246次发射。(完)

责任编辑: 张晓卉

14. 中青在线

Article in China Youth Online (*Zhōngqīng Zàixiàn* 中青在线), “Xi Jinping and Donald Trump have met! What happened?”.⁵²¹

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
特朗普	Tèlǎngpǔ	(Donald) Trump	proper name	transliteration
美国	Měiguó	America	proper name	Transliteration + category (<i>guó</i> 国 ‘land’). Literally ‘beautiful land’.
佛罗里达州	Fóluólǐdázhōu	Florida	proper name	Loanblend: transliteration of ‘Florida’ + <i>zhōu</i> 州 (‘administrative division’ – ‘province’, ‘state’).
西棕榈滩	Xī Zōnglǔ Tān	West Palm Beach	proper name	semantic translation
蒂勒森	Dìlěisēn	(Rex) Tillerson	proper name	transliteration
红地毯	hóng dìtǎn	Red carpet	loan translation	Sometimes translated as <i>hóngtǎn</i> 红毯.
奥	Ào	(Barack) Obama	proper name	Abbreviation of the transliteration <i>Àobāmǎ</i> 奥巴马.
海湖	Hǎihú	Sp. Mar-a-Lago	proper name	semantic translation
白宫	Báigōng	White House	proper name	Semantic translation, notice the meaning of the morpheme <i>gōng</i> 宫 ‘imperial palace’.
媒体	méitǐ	media	phono-semantic	Literally ‘intermediary system’.
华盛顿	Huáshèngdùn	Washington	proper name	transliteration
梅拉尼亚	Méilāniyǎ	Melania (Trump)	proper name	transliteration
北约	Běiyuē	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)	semantic translation	Abbreviation of the semantic loan <i>běi dàxī yáng gōngyuē zǔzhī</i> 北大西洋公约组织 ‘North Atlantic Treaty Organization’.
布鲁塞尔	Bùlǔsà’ěr	Brussels	proper name	transliteration
近岸内航道	Jìn Àn Nèi Hángdào	Intracoastal Waterway	proper name	semantic translation
约瑟夫厄本	Yuēsèfū Èběn	Joseph Urban	proper name	transliteration

⁵²¹ Wang Zhangyu 王长宇 (2017, April 10). Xìjīnpíng yǔ tèlǎngpǔ jiànmiàn le! Kàn diǎn shì shénme? 习近平与特朗普见面了! 看点是什么? (“Xi Jinping and Donald Trump have met! What happened?”) *Zhongqing zaixian*. Retrieved from <http://www.cyol.com>.

Mar-a-Lago	/	Sp. Mar-a-Lago	zero translation	
西班牙语	Xībānyáyǔ	Spanish language	loanblend	Transliteration of ‘España’ (Eng. Spain) + Chinese morpheme 语 ‘language’.
玛乔丽 梅里维瑟 波斯特	Mǎqiáli Mélīwéisè Pōsītè	Marjorie Merriweather Post	proper name	transliteration

习近平与特朗普见面了！看点是什么？

发布时间：2017-04-10 14:02 来源：中青在线

导读

应美国总统特朗普邀请，国家主席习近平于当地时间4月6日乘专机抵达美国佛罗里达州，这是特朗普就任美国总统以来，中美两国元首的首次会晤，“习特会”这个影响中美两国关系走向甚至世界格局的重大会晤就此展开。

习近平与特朗普见面了！

习近平将于6日和7日同特朗普就中美关系以及共同关心的国际和地区问题广泛深入交换意见。这是美国新政府就职以来中美两国元首首次会晤。

当地时间6日下午1时50分许，习近平乘坐的专机抵达佛罗里达州西棕榈滩国际机场。

习近平和夫人彭丽媛受到美国国务卿蒂勒森夫妇等热情迎接。礼兵分列红地毯两侧。△视频《习近平抵达美国佛罗里达州将同特朗普举行中美元首会晤》

王沪宁、汪洋、栗战书、杨洁篪等陪同人员同机抵达。中国驻美国大使崔天凯也到机场迎接。

8个关键词告诉你“习特会”为什么倍受关注

第一次

自2016年11月特朗普就任美国总统以来，中美两国元首首次会晤。

早于“习奥会”

特朗普上任两个多月后就与中国元首会晤，比2013年6月的第一次“习奥会”速度还快。

“庄园会晤”

海湖庄园——“冬日白宫”，庄园落成于1927年。1985年，特朗普以不到800万美元价格购得了庄园。美国媒体评论说，与在华盛顿相比，特朗普在海湖庄园时显得更加自如。

“夫人外交”

习近平主席和夫人彭丽媛将出席特朗普总统和夫人梅拉尼亚举行的欢迎宴会。

聚焦话题

经贸合作、“朝核”问题等重要问题。

层层铺垫

2月10日，习近平同特朗普通电话。特朗普称，美国政府坚持奉行一个中国政策。2月27日-28日，中国国务委员杨洁篪对美国进行访问。3月18日-19日，美国国务卿蒂勒森访华，确定“十四字原则”：不冲突不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢。

北约外长会议改期

北约外长会议原定于4月5日至6日在布鲁塞尔举行。美国国务卿蒂勒森可能因“习特会”而缺席，所以会议改为4月1日召开。对此，美国有媒体指出，这是过去十几年来第一次发生这样的事情！

为未来定调

中美关系是世界上最重要的一对双边关系。一个可预见的、稳定的中美关系需要两国最高层从战略高度审时度势，为未来几十年确定发展方向和基调。意义重大，自然吸引了全世界的目光。

庄园会晤不简单

近年来，在各种私人或国家庄园中进行“不打领带的外交”越来越流行，中国领导人逐渐成为其中的主角。到被访国领导人家中或庄园做客，一方面密切领导人之间的关系，另一方面也传达中国对一些国际问题的看法和主张。

本次中美元首会晤地点，选在了美国总统特朗普的私人产业，“海湖庄园”（Mar-a-Lago）。这是一座位于近岸内航道和大西洋之间、阳光明媚的地中海式宅邸，也是佛罗里达度假胜地棕榈滩的著名地标。

海湖庄园坐落在大西洋之滨一个南北走向的狭长小岛上，由设计师约瑟夫厄本设计，落成于1927年，到今天整整90年历史。庄园名字Mar-a-lago在西班牙语中有“海和湖”的意思。原主人玛乔丽 梅里维瑟波斯特一直希望庄园能成为美国总统的一处宅邸。

15. 中工网

Article in Chinese Workers Online (*Zhōnggōngwǎng* 中工网), “Xi Jinping sends out an congratulatory letter for the first high-level meeting on cultural exchange between China and South Africa”.⁵²²

Loanword	Pinyin	Source word	Category	Remarks
南非	Nánfēi	South Africa	proper name	Loanblend of Chinese morpheme <i>nán</i> 南 ‘south’ + transliteration <i>fēi</i> ‘Africa’.
比勒陀利亚	Bìlètúoliyà	Pretoria (capital of South Africa)	proper name	transliteration
金砖	Jīnzhūān	BRIC(S)	semantic translation	Notice how the Chinese loan is a semantic translation of ‘gold brick’, while the English source word ‘BRIC(S)’ is actually an acronym for ‘Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa’.
非洲	Fēizhōu	Africa	proper name	Transliteration, what to think of the rather derogative <i>fēi</i> 非 ‘wrongdoing’?
约翰内斯堡	Yuēhànnèisībǎo	Johannesburg	proper name	transliteration
祖马也	Zǔmǎyě	(Jacob) Zuma	proper name	transliteration

⁵²² Xiao Tian 肖天 (2017, April 25). Xi Jinping xiàng zhōngguó-nánfēi gāojí biérén wén jiāoliú jīzhì shǒucì huìyì zhì hèxìn 习近平向中国—南非高级别人文交流机制首次会议致贺信 (“Xi Jinping sends out an congratulatory letter for the first high-level meeting on cultural exchange between China and South Africa”). *Zhongrenwang*. Retrieved from <http://news.worker.cn>.

习近平向中国—南非高级别人文交流机制首次会议致贺信

<http://www.worker.cn> 2017-04-25 来源：新华社

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新华社北京4月24日电 国家主席习近平24日致信祝贺中国—南非高级别人文交流机制首次会议在比勒陀利亚召开。

习近平强调，中国和南非同为发展中大国和金砖国家成员。近年来，两国全面战略伙伴关系保持强劲发展势头，给两国人民带来了实实在在的利益。中南高级别人文交流机制是中国同非洲国家建立的首个高级别人文交流机制，是落实中非合作论坛约翰内斯堡峰会成果的重要行动。机制的启动将夯实中南关系的民意基础，有力推动两国人文交流。

习近平指出，这次机制活动期间还将召开中非部长级医药卫生合作会议。中非卫生合作是中非友好合作的重要组成部分。希望有关各方携手同行，深入推进中非卫生合作，造福中非人民。

习近平强调，实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦和非洲《2063年议程》描绘的非洲梦高度契合。中方愿同包括南非在内的非洲国家一道，携手开创中非合作共赢、共同发展的新时代。

南非总统祖马也向会议致贺信，表示，南中高级别人文交流机制的建立是南中良好关系的又一例证。相信机制将推动两国相关领域交流合作取得积极成果，增进两国人民相互理解，将两国关系提升到新的高度，实现南中共同繁荣。

编辑：肖天